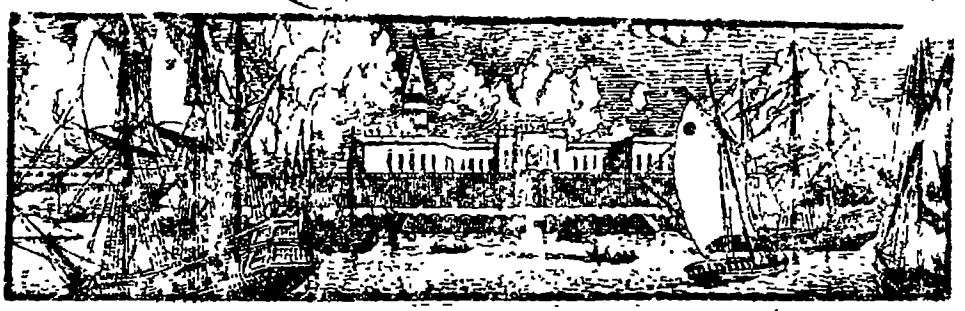

BENGAL

PAST & PRESENT

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CORRIGENDA.

In LETTER PRESS OF ILLUSTRATION NO. 15, FOR 1592 *read* 1526.

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THE
BUSTEED MEMORIAL
IN
THE VICTORIA MEMORIAL HALL.

LENDING LIBRARY.
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

Some Records Relative to the Mayor's Court.

INTRODUCTION.

IN 1693, when the Company in London were devising large schemes for their young settlement at Calcutta, they proposed the establishment of a Court of Judicature which would take cognisance of disputes between British subjects residing at that place. On April 10th 1693, they wrote.

"24. We send you with this a short extract of two or three Paragraphs out of our Generall Letter to Bombay and Suratt, by which you will see that we have taken as much care as we can to prevent the irregularityes of such as sail upon our Country permissive ships from Suratt, &c. And now it will be your part to erect such a Judicature in Bengall after the manner you have seen practised at Fort St. George to judge and punish by fines to the Company and otherwise such as shall offend hereafter, wherein we doubt not, but you will proceed with exact justice and great moderation, which is always to be used to the first offenders, besides if you find any refractory you may reduce them to obedience by denying them the priviledge of our passes and dusticks [dustaks] &c.[1]

To this the President and Council at Calcutta replied on December 14th, 1694[2]:—

"By the death of Agent Charnock your Honours are disappointed in your Intentions and Expectation of having a Court of Judicature erected in Bengall and for that reason we presume the Hon'ble President and Councill of Fort St. George took the Commission out of your Honours Packett before it came to us, our Endeavours have been fruitless hitherto in procuring the Nabobs and Duans consents for a firm settlement in this place and we have no hopes of a grant for it so long as this Duan continues."

With this view the Directors concurred, for on May 14th, 1696, they write: "Till the Company be settled by Act of Parliament, we think it not very materiall to resettle a Judicature in Bengall, since you may send to the Fort,[3] or send thither for a warrant or bring up any refractory or disorderly persons."

[1] *Court's Letter Book*. Vol. IX, p. 257. The Surat letter referred to above is dated 1 May 1693, and the paragraphs mentioned are Nos. 2 and 3.
[2] Bengal Original Consultations (India Office Records). Vol. L. No. 5949.
[3] Fort St. George, Madras.

In 1726, however, the Company again moved in the matter of establishing a Court at Calcutta, and it is with their petition of February 1, 1727 the following series of records commence. These papers were copied at my request by Miss L. Anstey from originals in the Record Department of the India Office.

The Rev. J. Long, in the introduction to his volume of *Selections from the Unpublished Records of Government, 1748-67*, tells us that the records of the Mayor's Court "are deposited with the High Court, but unfortunately all records since 1749 have been lost." He gives us the following account of the expenses of the Mayor's Court in 1753.

	Rs.	A.	P.
To paid the trustees of the charity school for apartments for the records for 4 months at Arcot Rs. 30 per month	120	0	0
Batta 8 per cent. ...	9	9	6
	129	9	6
To paid for a piece of red taffaty for gowns for the Alderman ...	12	15	3
To paid by order of court for copying a large book for the court's use ...	64	12	9
To paid for wax cloth	1	0	6
Velvet for the chair and cushion and making	37	4	3

In August 1748 Madras was restored by the French to the English Company. The Company were advised by the Solicitor General and their own Standing-Counsel, that the capture of Madras by the French had terminated the powers and authorities granted by the Charter of 1723. As a new Charter was thus rendered necessary for Madras, the Directors thought that they might make use of this occasion, and, while surrendering the charters for Bengal and Bombay, to obtain charters embodying various improvements of which experience had proved the need. The principal addition made was the establishment of Commissioners to serve as a Court of Requests for the recovery of debts not exceeding five pagodas in amount. In their letter accompanying the Charter, the Directors remark: "With respect to criminal proceedings, we have nothing to add to the instructions already given, unless it is, that the Legislature in the last Session made an Act of Parliament for better preventing the horrid crime of murder, several copys of which we send you herewith. So, if the Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer think it may be a means to prevent or detur persons from committing that horrid crime, they may, in case of conviction, proceed to judgment and execution, and disposal of the body in the manner that the Act directs."

The Charters of the Mayor's Court thus established four judicatures in Calcutta exercising jurisdiction from the English Crown over British subjects, natives in their employment, and persons who voluntarily placed themselves under the Courts:—

1. The President and Council (in 1723 "five of the Council"; 1753 "all the Council") are Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol delivery, and hold Quarter-Sessions.

2. The Mayor's Court.
3. The President and Council, a Court of Record, to hear appeals from the Mayor's Court.
4. After 1753, twelve Commissioners to form a Court of Requests.

Turning to the subject of the law administered by these Courts, it may be said at once that it was the law of England as it stood at the introduction of each of the Charters, *i.e.*, 1723 to 1753, it was the law of England as it stood in the year 1723, and from 1753 onward as the same law stood in 1753. Impey at his Impeachment stated: "Among the records I found the instructions sent out by the Court of Directors with that Charter (the Charter 1753), and expecting, as I really procured, great information from them, ordered them to be copied. These instructions direct the new Court how to proceed against prisoners not understanding English, tells what crimes are misdemeanours, what simple felonies, what within clergy, what capital, and all the distinctions on that head; what punishments are to be inflicted, amongst which transportation is particularised; how to proceed in each case; and gives precedents of indictments for each crime, the oath for an interpreter where the prisoner does not understand English, directions how to proceed when any Portuguese, Gentoo, or native of India, not born of British parents, happens to be prosecuted for any capital offence, which the instructions say 'will probably often happen'; they are told that stealing goods above the value of forty shillings out of a dwelling-house, above five shillings privately out of a shop or warehouse, or stable, and from every person above five shillings is capital: they are told that the jury may mitigate the sum so as to make the offence clergyable, and the clerk of the peace is directed to mark the judgment[s] so mitigated to distinguish them. They give precedents of indictments for all these crimes, and add indictments for burglaries, highway robberies, and horse-stealing, as cases 'likely to happen.' In a marginal note they are told in cases where any Act of Parliament makes a crime felony, which was not so at common law, the indictment must conclude 'against the form of the Statute.' They are directed 'to enlarge on His Majesty's' princely goodness, who on the humble application of Honourable Company, has thought fit to extend his care and the benefit of his laws to his most distant subjects in the British settlements in the East Indies. This the Directors desire 'may be done the first time the Commission is put into execution'."[1]

Sir Gilbert Elliott[2] contended that Sir Elijah Impey was mistaken as to the date of these instructions, and asserted that they were in fact sent out with the Charter of 1723. No evidence is forthcoming to support Sir Gilbert's assertion, and, on the other hand, in a volume of Early Parliamentary Papers (printed)

[1] Sir J. F. Stephen: *The Story of Nuncomar and the Impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey*. Vol. II pp. 20 1. Sir J. F. Stephen did not "attempt to verify this statement of Impey's."

[2] The Mover of Impey's impeachment; afterwards the first Lord Minto.

there is to be found "Extracts from the Book of Instructions for putting into execution the E. I. Co's Charter for erecting and holding Courts of Justice, Civil and Criminal, at Fort St. George and the Company's other Settlements in the East Indies, dated the 8th June, 1753, 26th year of the reign of George the Second. These extracts clearly are made from the instructions cited by Impey.

During Impey's impeachment, Mr. Boughton Rous was asked whether he knew "anything of any intention to carry the English criminal law into execution in the town of Calcutta?" He replied: "I have found amongst my papers a copy of a proclamation issued by His Majesty's justices for the town and district of Calcutta at their Quarter Sessions held on the 3rd June, 1762, in which such an intention is announced." A diligent search for a copy of this Proclamation has been made at the Record Department of the India Office, but in vain.[1]

Among the records following will be found "an Account of the several persons who have been prosecuted in the Court of Quarter Sessions in Calcutta, for criminal offences according to the Laws of England, from the 1st of January, 1762, to the 1st of October, 1774.[2] It will be observed that the first case is dated August 27th, 1762, *i.e.* subsequent to the proclamation mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Out of forty-five cases, in which sixty-two persons were implicated, the natives are in the majority, and in twenty-one cases the sentence was capital. Two cases may be taken as illustrative of the law enforced by the Courts. These I take from Verelst's *View of the English Government in Bengal*, observing, however, that the first case does not appear in the list abovementioned. Verelst has left it on record as his mature judgment: "as well might we transplant the full-grown oak to the banks of the Ganges, as dream that any part of a code, matured by the patient labours of successive judges and legislators in this island, can possibly coalesce with the customs of Bengal."[3] The first case he cites to prove his point is as follows:—

> "In the year 1762, a native detected one of his women in an act of infidelity. Throughout the East, women are wholly subject to the will of their master, and every husband is the avenger of his own wrongs. The man, therefore, satisfied of her guilt, proceeded to punishment, by cutting off her nose. He was arraigned at the Calcutta Sessions. He confessed the fact, but urged that he had done nothing to offend the laws and customs in which he had been educated; that the woman was his property; and that, by such customs, he had a right to set a mark upon her, for her infamy; that

[1] The House of Commons, on Feb. 25th, 1788, called on the Court of Directors to produce a copy of the Proclamation, but apparently this order was never complied with. I have been unable to trace this document either among the India Office Records or those of the Calcutta High Court. But see Long: *Selections*. p 430

[2] See Appendix. Sir J. F. Stephen cites this paper but gives a wrong reference.

[3] Verelst: *View*, etc. p. 134.

he had never heard of the laws by which they tried him; did they believe that if he had known the punishment to be death, he would ever have committed what they now called a crime? The man, notwithstanding this defence, was condemned and hanged; for, if the Court possess jurisdiction, they must proceed according to the English laws."[1]

2. The second case is interesting as forming a precedent for the Supreme Court's sentence upon Nanda Kumar ("Nuncomar") on his conviction of forgery. "The amazing extent of public and private credit in Great Britain," writes Verelst in 1773, "has induced our legislators to punish forgery with death. Under this law a native of Bengal was condemned in the year 1768. But so extravagant did the sentence appear, where experience had never suggested the principle, such the disproportion in their eyes between the punishment and crime, that the principal inhabitants of Calcutta expressed their astonishment and alarm in a petition to the Governor and Council; and, upon a proper representation, Rada Churn Metre received a pardon."[2]

Verelst, in his *View, etc.*, devotes a whole chapter to maintaining "the impossibility of introducing English laws into Bengal." He points to native customs absolutely irreconcilable with English principles—polygamy, child-marriages, the customs of the harem, etc., etc.; and reflects upon the fact that in Great Britain "not less than one hundred and sixty felonies are created by acts of Parliament." He recognises that Europeans in Indian settlements must be subjected to British civil and criminal law, and for that reason urges that, with the exception of the few district officers of the Company, Europeans should not be allowed to reside outside the Company's territorial limits. The principles, which his oppressively pompous sentences make it difficult for the reader to follow, are practically these:—

1. The laws of England are the result of centuries of varied experience, and minute science, and are adapted only to a free people.
2. The natives of Bengal are not capable of receiving a free government, and therefore cannot receive the law of a free people.
3. As the natives must be left to their own customs and laws, justice must be administered by native judges: but to prevent "independency," the Governor-General and Council should issue edicts from time to time, for "power must reside in the conquerors."

[1] Verelst: *View etc.*, p. 26.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 141 and Appendix p. 177. See also collection no 8. India Office Record Department, Parliamentary Branch and Long: *Selections.* No 840. Radha Churn Mitra was a grandson of Holwell's old foe, Govindram Mitra, the "Black Collector" of Calcutta.

4. A Court of English justices, assisted by worthy natives, might hold an appellate jurisdiction, but "to invest Europeans with an original judicature throughout the country would be productive of infinite oppression."

The replies of the Collectors to the enquiries addressed to them in 1790, show that the idea of maintaining a British Government in India, and yet leaving the native law substantially unchanged was an idea which rested on inadequate information both as to the character of Muhamadan civilisation and the actual circumstances of the country. Verelst held the view that English law was a monument of perfection—a view commonly held by Englishmen at that time. To us the eighteenth century criminal law is not an amiable subject for contemplation. Its introduction, as it stood and as it was developing itself, into Calcutta, was bound, as in the instance of the punishment of forgery or petty thieving by death, to have deplorable consequences: on the other hand the introduction into Bengal (for British subjects and their dependents) of the English law with all its imperfections and excesses, was a necessary step towards the substitution of a carefully considered criminal and civil code, adapted to the people for whom it was intended, and patent to expansion and revision, according to the ever changing circumstances of the State and the conditions of native life.

The weakness of the Judicatures of 1723 and 1753 arose from the fact that they tended to be in fact but branches of the Company's executive government, and they therefore afforded imperfect means of resistance to the class interests of the Company's servants, at a time when the Company's servants were bidding fair to monopolise the trade of the Country.[1] It would occupy more space than the nature of our general subject would justify if we were to undertake a discussion of the charges brought against these Courts by Bolts in his *Considerations*. It may be held that Verelst does satisfactorily meet these charges, but it must also be admitted that in doing so he unconsciously betrayed the weakness of a system under which executive government and judicial authority were combined in the hands of men who had commercial interests of their own to defend.[2] The Aldermen of the Mayor's

[1] In 1767, however, the Mayor's Court protected, in despite of the Governor and Council, a Mr. Atkinson who, having obtained the Company's permission to go from Fort Marlborough to China, came instead to Bengal.

[2] Bolts points out: "By the Charter of George I, the Mayor's Court had the power of electing their own members to fill up vacancies; and, while such continued to be the practice, that Court was the bulwark of all security with regard to property in the settlement, and might be considered in a great degree as independent. Indeed it was so much so at that time (before the Company had adopted, in so common and frequent a manner, the practice of seizing persons and sending them prisoners to England) that it was deemed inconvenient to the Company who has many decrees given against them, and this was thought the great defect before hinted at, against which, though not expressed, the Company petitioned the Crown, and obtained the Charter of George II, whereby the right of electing Aldermen was transferred from their own body to the Governor and Council, who thereby had the unconstitutional power given them of making and unmaking the judges." *Considerations.* Vol. I. p. 85.

Court were as a rule anything but what the term "alderman" etymologically implies: they were mostly junior servants of the Company in the days when the Company's servants, without any special training at home, began their Indian career a little more than midway in their 'teens.[1] Nor was the Charter itself so explicit a guide as occasion required: it left room for doubts as to the amenability to *sub poena* of witnesses residing beyond the Marhatha Ditch:[2] and left room for doubts which could not be dispelled without a tedious reference to law authorities in England.[3]

From the *Sixth Report of the Committee of Secrecy 1773*, we learn that, where debts had to be realised from natives living outside the limits of the Company's Settlements, other methods than recourse to the Mayor's Court were resorted to. "Where the debtor was dependent on, or connected with the Company, in the course of commerce, and residing (as these persons generally did) in the neighbourhood of any of the Company's settlements, the general practice was to lay hold of his person by their own authority, without applying to any Court or Officer of the Government,[4] and they sometimes ventured to exercise the same right, even where the debtor did not fall under that description; but this was an abuse, though generally overlooked by Government. In the former case, the Government tacitly allowed and countenanced the practice of seizing and detaining the debtor, it being much the disposition of the Government to give all encouragement to the Europeans, from whose commerce their country then derived such considerable advantages. In cases where it was not thought prudent to proceed in this manner, the only remedy was by application to Government; but your Committee were informed that there was seldom occasion to make use of either of these ways to compel payment of any debt to the Company or its servants, for that the persons dealing with them reaped so much benefit from that connection, that there seldom arose any dispute between them. . . . . The French and Dutch exercised the same privilege of seizing their debtors, and even continued the practice after the Company's acquisition of the Dewanee."[5]

In 1774 the Supreme Court of Judicature took the place of the Mayor's Court, and at once commenced a conflict between the Judges and the Governor-General's Council as to the Court's right to intervene in causes in which the revenue and the revenue officers were concerned. It is, therefore, interesting

[1] On the occasion of Nanda Kumar's trial, the combined ages of the Under-Sheriff of Calcutta, and the acting Persian Translator scarcely amounted to 42.

[2] The eastern boundary of Calcutta.

[3] See *Sixth Report of the Committee of Secrecy 1773*.

[4] By "Government" in this passage the Nawab's Government is meant.

[5] "Your Committee find, by the Secret Consultations lately received by the *Lapwing*, that this practice having been lately prohibited by the President and Council, the French in very strong terms, remonstrated against this order, as a violation of a right which they had always held and exercised under the Country Government; but that the President and Council denied this pretension, and insisted that the French should have recourse to the courts of justice to compel payment of their debts: but your Committee do not find that this dispute has been brought to a conclusion."

to note that a similar conflict had arisen between the older Court and the Collector of Calcutta. In 1753 Holwell protested that "the bulk of the causes that come before the cutcherry are for sums cognizable by the said Court of Requests,"[1] and, on 1st March, 1754, the Mayor's Court write to the Directors, complaining that the Collector refused, at their bidding, to release a native whom he had confined and who was a party to a cause brought into their Court.

CHEYNE COURT, CHELSEA,
August, 1912.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

I.

Correspondence Memoranda, Vol. 9.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The Humble Petition of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

SHEWETH,

That your Petitioners have by a Strict and equal distribution of Justice within the towns Forts Factorys and places belonging to the said Company in the East Indies and other parts beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan very much Encouraged not only your Majestys Subjects but likewise the Subjects of other Princes and the Natives of the Adjacent Countreys to resort to and settle in the said towns Forts Factorys and places for the better and more Convenient Carrying on of trade by which means some of the said towns Factorys and places are become very populous and especially the town or place Antiently called CHINA PATNAM now Called Madras Patnam and Fort Saint George on the Coast of Cormondell and also the towns, Factorys or Places called Bombay on the Island of Bombay and Fort William in Bengall.

THAT in pursuance of Priviledges and powers granted to your Petitioners by your Royall Predecessors your petitioners have Constituted and appointed within the said towns or Factorys of Madras Patnam Bombay and Fort William severall Officers by the Name of the Governor and Council or president and Councill.

THAT there is a great want in all the said places of a proper and Competent power and Authority for the more speedy and effectual administring of Justice in Civil Causes and for the trying and punishing of Capital and other Criminal Offences and Misdemeanors committed within the places and districts aforesaid and for the better Government of the severall Factorys belonging to your Petitioners within the Limitts of trade Granted to your Petitioners.

AND for as much as the Granting to your Petitioners such powers as may Conduce to the punishing of Vice Administring of Justice and better Governing

[1] Fort William Consultations 29 October, 1753.

your Petitioners Factorys and Settlements abroad will in the Consequence thereof greatly tend to the Increase of that branch of the National trade which is Carried on to the East Indies as well as to the Increase of your Majestys Revenues ariseing from same—

Your Petitioners therefore most Humbly beseech your Majesty to extend your royall Grace and benevolence to your petitioners and to grant them the Severall Priviledges Contained in the heads Abstracts or Particulars mentioned and Humbly proposed to your Majesty by your Petitioners in the Schedule or papers hereunto annexed.

And Your Petitioners shall pray &ca.

Signed by the Order of the Court of Directors of the said United Company.

THOS. WOLLEY.[1]

II.

Court Minutes, Vol. 52, p. 177.

At a Court of Directors holden on Wednesday the 1st February 1726-7.

PRESENT

HENRY LYELL, Esq. *Chairman* (*and others*).

* * * * * *

Charters for trying Law Suits at Fort St. George Bengall &ca.

Mr. Woodford acquainted the Court that pursuant to Order, the three Charters were exemplyfied for the Factorys of Fort St. George, Bengall and Bombay, authorizing the Mayor and Aldermen at each of those Places to Try Causes Vizt. Felony, Injuries, Civil Actions, and Propertys, and in Case of Need to Appeal to the respective Presidents and Councils, and from them to the King and Council, likewise giving the necessary Authority to prove Wills, and Grant Administrations, that he had likewise Caused two Copys to be made for each Place with full Instructions how to make use of the said Charters in all Cases, Also several Law Books to Accompany the same for the better Information of the Courts to be establisht by Virtue of the said Charters.

III.

Letter Book, Vol. 20.

Sent Per Bridgwater and Walpole.

London 17th February 1726-7.

OUR PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM IN BENGALL.

1. Upon Application made to His Majesty, We have obtain'd His Majestys Royal Charter for our Settlements at Madraspatnam at Calcutta

[1] This document is preceded by a Minute of a Court held at St. James', 5th May 1726, mentioning the receipt of a petition from the Court of Directors urging compliance with the prayer of the above petition. The Court's Petition has not been copied as no new information appears. The Schedule and papers mentioned above do not appear.

at Fort William in Bengall, and at Bombay in the East Indies to enable Us by Vertue thereof to have our Affairs in all those Places and within the Districts therein mention'd, as also in all the Subordinate Factoryes of those Presidencys managed with greater Authority than ever hitherto, We apply'd to get the Mannagement of the Civil Affairs as near as We could agreeable to the Practice and Methods of the Mayors Court at Fort St. George, which have continued for many Years, and as You will see in the said Charter (of which we send you by the Bridgwater an Exemplification under the great Seal of this Kingdom) It begins and goes through first with all the Powers and Authoritys granted and Rules prescribed for that Place, And then proceeds to erect the like Courts and give the same Rules for our Settlements at Bombay and Fort William.

2. The said Charter appoints an Annual Sheriff to be chosen to be the last of your Council, and to return all the Processes of the Court (And nominates nine Persons to be the Court of Mayor and Aldermen, and as such a Court to Try all Civil Causes that may happen) To bring into Court all Persons complain'd of To hold them Bail or Confine them, and on being empower'd by Warrants to Seiz and Sell the Effects to make satisfaction to the several Persons, who by Decree of the Court on hearing the Cause have any Summs of money adjudged to be due to them, And in this the said Court have by the Charter a Power to frame Rules of Practice in the Proceedings.

3. There is a liberty reserv'd in said Charter to appeal from the Judgment of the Mayors Court to the President and Council, who are by this Charter made a Court of Record to receive it, and rehear the Cause, And if either Party think him, her or themselves then aggriev'd, they have liberty (in case the Sentence is for one Thousand Pagodas or upwards in Value) to appeal from the President and Council to the King in Council here under certain Conditions therein contain'd.

4. This Charter gives the President and Five of the Senior Council a Power to be and Act as Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery, To hold Quarter Sessions, and to proceed to hear, try and punish, in all Criminal Causes, except only of High Treason, as Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery do in England appointing and Summoning Grand and Petty Jurys for those purposes.

5. We hope this Power will have that good Effect as to prevent all Persons from being guilty of wicked practices to subject them to the judgment of said Court.

6. Likewise a Power is granted by said Charter to appoint Generals by Land and Sea and Military Officers, and to Levy and Train Souldiers and resist Enemys, And further to Act as is therein directed, And therewith is granted an additional Authority to grant Probats of Wills and Letters of

Administration on the Goods and Credits of Intestates, or of those whose Executors are not on the Place as by the said Charter is fully directed.

7. You must from the time the Charter is to operate, which is to be within Thirty days after receipt hereof, take particular care to swear into the Office of Mayor and Aldermen the Persons appointed thereto, and in case of Death or totall absence others as directed, The appointments of the several Persons for Administring the Oaths of fidelity and those who are to take the said Oaths and Oaths of Office are so plainly directed in the Charter that there can be no mistake when once you have but read it over attentively.

8. We had elected a very ingenious and able Person to go along with the Charter to Fort St. George and assist there, and afterwards at Bengall and Bombay in the first setting out to put every thing in a right Method and Trace out the way at first with the Utmost exactness, And had agreed upon giving him a very encouraging Gratification for his pains and trouble and the time he must necessarily spend in all three Places, But some unhappy Accidents with a great Indisposition that hath lately seiz'd him has prevented his undertaking the Voyage and consequently the Employment.

9. However that you might not be at a loss or doubtful in any part of your proceedings, We herewith send you two written Books One by the Bridgwater and the other by the Walpole, Entituled Instructions for putting in Execution the East India Companys Charter, First as to the form and Method of proceedings in all Civil Suits, Actions and Pleas between Party and Party, Secondly as to the Method and Form of Proceedings before Justices of the Peace and at a Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery, Thirdly as to the manner and form of Granting Probats of Wills and Letters of Administration of Intestates Estates, To which is subjoin'd the form of some Oaths necessary to be taken in pursuance of the Charter, and which are not taken Notice of in the Instructions.

10. You will in said Book observe an instance in a Civil Case of prosecuting for a Debt, and a Supposition of all the Accidents that may happen in the whole of the Proceedings, many more than are likely, and if you find them attempted may with prudence be easily check'd so far as found dilatory and purely litigious, Also Instances of all the several Steps that can probably be taken before the Justices of the Peace and at Courts of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery with variety of forms of Warrants and other Orders, many more than in probability you will ever have occasion for, And the same as to the manner and form of Granting Probats of Wills and of Administrations, wherein the Civilians have taken in as We are told all that can well be said on that Subject, and more than ever you shall want to consult in the Cases that may come before you.

11. We likewise send you along with the said Instructions Two written Copys of the said Charter bound in a Book, one of each for the Common use

of the President and Council in Council, and the others for the Mayor and Aldermen at their Court.

12. It will require your utmost case in every step you take for putting in execution the Powers and Authoritys therein and thereby given and granted, which when read over attentively and duly consider'd together with the Instructions before mention'd will be soon render'd easy and familiar, and then with common prudence will doubtless be continued so.

13. If you apply heartily as We earnestly recommend to you to endeavour you will bring the Mayors Court though new with you at present into use and good liking of all the People for doubtless there doth arise among you at times some disputes in the matters of Meun and Tuum, and if you do exercise the other Powers with prudence and Justice (and We must tell You it is greatly incumbent on you so to do, for the very Intimations of Kings are commands and if not obey'd or their Grants not thankfully accepted and made use of as they ought may bring You as well as Us into a Premunire) We cant at present apprehend We have any thing more that We shall want of the Government as to our Settlements in India for the better Government of them, And the Authority We shall now act by being supported by one so much greater than Our own, Will redound greatly to the Honour of the Nation, and part thereof will cast a Lustre on your selves as the Instruments of putting it into operation.

14. As the Charter directs a Sherriff to be annually elected, so it directs other Officers to be chosen as well in the Court of Mayor and Aldermen as in that of Oyer and Terminer, but as you have a great many Covenant Servants, We hope they may serve the purposes of both without appointing any other English People into them, or any of them, We would have those most fit at present, or such as are most likely to be so by time and practice to be first put in, wherein one Person may possibly fill up two or more Stations, and though the business they are likely to be employ'd in will be but very little and seldom, Yet as they may think it very hard to officiate without some reward for their labour, Therefore We hereby direct You to appoint proper Fees according to their different Employments, But be sure to take care that they be very moderate and Suited to the Circumstances of the People, who are many of them very poor and can't bear the paying of such as We may here Account but small Fees, whereto We desire you will have a great regard, and send Us a Table of the respective Fees in all Cases for our Inspection and Judgment.

15. Be you particularly careful on your part and let the Mayor and Aldermen know That We also earnestly recommend to them to check the first beginnings of any oppressions, exactions Misbehaviour towards any or the least foul practice of the Attorneys and other Officers of the Court, Keep them all within due bounds of Decorum, and Discountenance all Attempts of

prolonging of Suits, In the Instructions are certain distances of times between one part of the Processes and what next is to follow, Let the Court curtail them as much as equitable may be, for Justice may be render'd Sour by delaying, The most expeditious it can be made in reason is thereby the better.

16. We hope you will never have occasion to put in Execution the Powers given you for exercising of Martial Law in time of War and open Hostility, as occasion may be and necessarily require and can legally be done, Therefore you should be very careful in your Proceedings.

17. By the Charter Three of the Mayors Court, the Mayor or Senior Alderman being One, may Try all Civil Causes, Yet We recommend to that Court to have always as many of their Members there in all Judgments to be given by them as possible, not only for the greater Solemnity but also for the more thorough Sifting all matters that shall come before them to prevent as far as possible the least mistake or Error in the Sentence given, as remembring they do in Judgment act in the Place of God towards the People, And according to the Scripture Expression, He that rules over Men must be just ruling in the fear of God.

18. As to the Proceedings in the several Courts of Record, It will be necessary to use Parchment in the several Writings as being most durable and to keep all safe from Vermine, therefore We send you Nine Rolls of Parchment, each containing Sixty Skins for use, On which let such moderate Sums be put as to the larger or smaller Pieces wanted, that We may be reimbursed our prime Cost with a small advance for Interest and Risco.

19. Send Us yearly Copy of the Register of your Court Books kept in pursuance of this Charter for our Notice and Observation how you proceed therein.

20. You will find in the Packets a List of the Statutes and some Law Books, which we have been advis'd to send You, as what may give you some light on occasion.

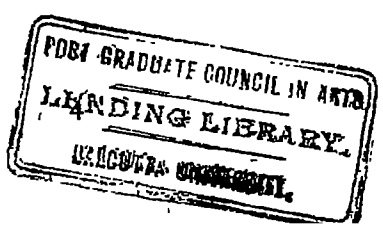
21. This Charter being principally design'd for the Government and benefits of Europeans, and many of the Natives who live with you having peculiar Customs of their own, We are willing they should still enjoy them, so as they live quietly and do nothing that tends to publick disturbance or breaking into the settled Rules of the Place, You must continue to be as hitherto you have been very careful to avoid as much as possible the putting any of the Moors to Death, unless the Crime be of a very high nature such as Murther and Piracy and the proofs thereof be very possitive and plain for fear the Moguls Governours make it a handle for raising Disturbances, of which it may not be easy to foresee or prevent the ill Consequences,

We are

Your Loving Friends

HENRY LYELL, *Chairman*

(and 18 others.)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IV.

Bengal Public Consultations, Range, 1, Vol. 6.

Fort William August 1727.

(Extract from Consultation of Monday, 28 August, 1727).

Charter &ca. Law Books received.

The Box containing the new Charter &ca., Law Books come Per Ship Bridgwater being come a shore was now open'd which contained the following Particulars vizt.

King George's Royal Charter.
Statutes at large, five Vols.
Dalton's Country Justice.
Hawkins's Plea of the Crown.
Abridgment of the Statutes, 6 Vols.
Officium Clerici pacis.
Modern Justice.
Hale's Pleas of the Crown.
Blackerby's Justice.
Godolphin's Legacy.
Lex Testamentaria.
Praxis Cancellaria, two Vols.
Cursus Cancellaria.
Practicall Register in Chancery.
Copy of the new Charter.

Mayor & Aldermen chosen.

The Honble Company's Genl. Letter, dated 17th February 1726-7 relating to the Charter was now read a second time and very seriously considered in all its Paragraphs.

WHEREAS Mr. John Sainsbury Lloyd who is nominated in the Charter to be Mayor and several of the Aldermen therein named are absent, Pursuant to the tenour of the Charter we have appointed the following Persons to be the modern Mayor Sheriff and Aldermen Vizt.

Charles Hampton Esqr. Mayor
Mr. Thomas Braddyll Sheriff
Messrs. John Bonkett
Thomas Coales
Thomas Cooke
Henry Harnett
Robert Frankland
James Nevile
William Bruce
Matthew Wesley
Geo: Mandeville
} *Aldermen.*

V.

Bengal Public Consultations, Range 1, Vol. 6.

Fort William October 1728.

Extract from Consultation of Thursday, 3 October 1728.

The Mayor's Court representing to Us that they are at the Monthly Expence of one hundred five Rupees and eight Anaes for Peons and other necessary Servants to attend said Court; and having no other way to support the said Charges (All Fines &ca. being by Order of this Board appropriated to the Honble. Company's Use).

Mayor's Court its Expence to be paid by the Zemindar.

AGREED[1] thereof, that the Expence of Peons and proper Officers to attend said Court be disbursed by the Zemindar, and brought into his Monthly Account.

VI.

Bengal Public Consultations, Range 1, Vol. 6.

Fort William January 1728-9.

Extract of Consultation of Thursday, 2nd January, 1728-9.

There being wanting a proper Place to hold the Mayor's Court, as well as a Court of Oyer and Terminer, and to make a Town Gaol,

Ambassador's House to be the Town Hall.

AGREED, That the Ambassador's House and Compound be appropriated for that Service; and that a Tax be levied on the Inhabitants of this Place to pay the same.

Corporation to be assessed.

VII.

Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters Received, Vol. 2.

Extract of Fort William General Letter, dated 5th December 1727.

Para. 4. Thankful for his Majesty's Charter for Establishing a Corporation in Calcutta, which they publickly read with great Demonstrations of Joy under Triple Discharge of the Military and Great Guns, the Mayor's Court instituted, Aldermen a little puzled at present in their Proceedings, but a little Practice will soon make every thing easy and believe every Man will act the honest part, they take it that their Court is not to be lookt upon as a Court of Common Laws but a Court of Equity.

[1] (*Sic*) ? therefore.

VIII.

Coast and Bay Extracts of Letters Received, Vol. 2.

Extracts of Fort William General Letter, dated 28th January 1727-8.

Para. 105, Shall esteem all Money raised by Fines in the Mayors Court as belonging to the Company[1] except that paid by Gentlemen who fine rather than officiate as Aldermen which is appropriated to the Mayors Court.

* * * * * *

Para. 154. Send a List of Fees appropriated to the Mayors Court.

155. Have little or no Business to do at the Quarter Sessions more than remind the Kings Subjects of their Allegiance and to lead sober Lives &ca.

156. The President and the three Seniors of Council taken the Oaths as Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer. Mr. Hampton is Mayor and Mr. Braddyll Sherriff, hope this Charter will prevent wicked Practices.

157. Publickly read and proclaimed the Charter thirty days after the Receipt when it took place and swore the Mayor and Aldermen in their Office.

158. Send Copy of the Registers of their Court Book, wish it may be according to Method, have done their best and were Govern'd by their Instructions, hope in time to rectifye their present Errors.

159. Receiv'd the nine Rolls of Parchment, have thought it more proper to keep their Records on Strong Paper, the Cockroaches being Lovers of Parchment and would soon eat them up.

160. Will take particular Care to permit the Natives enjoying their own particular Customs, and be cautious how they put any of the Moors to Death, when Mr. Surman and others were at Furruckseer's Court had liked to overset the Royal Phirmaund by requesting Power to punish the Mogul's Subjects with Death, the Moors alledg'd the Companys Charter could not extend to them who were Subjects to another Prince.

* * * * * *

IX.

Correspondence Memoranda, Vol. 9.

Mr. Woodfords Opinion upon the 165 paragraph[2] in the Governour and Councils Letter dated Fort William 28th January 1727-8.

[1] The Letters Patent to the Company granting them all fines from the Mayor's Court exists at the India Office. The original is on parchment and there is a printed copy. It is dated 17th Nov. 1727, the document establishing the Mayor's Court is dated 24th September 1726.

[2] This para. runs as follows:—

"Send the Case of Capt. Hurdis's dying insolvent with their opinions thereupon, desire the Company will send them a determination how his effects are to be divided. *Coasts and Bay Abstracts*, Vol. 2.

It appears by the late Charter granted to the Company that the Mayors Court is impowered to Grant Letters of Administration and Probates of Wills as the Cases require.

And as the Clauses in the Charter relating to the one Case and the other are very particular and full Instructions have been sent for the putting the Powers in the Charter into Execution I must therefore refer the President and Council thereto and am apt to think that by a Careful Perusal thereof Satisfaction might have been gained or collected therefrom with respect to the present Question.

And I think it very evident that the Mayors Court have the Sole right to Authorize any person to be or to Act as Executor or Administrator and consequently that the President and Councel are not Warranted to Act-as Executors or Administrators or to take possession of the Effects or Estate of any deceased Person Nor can the Company in my opinion protect or defend any of their Officers in meddling with any deceased Persons Estates unless it is done in the manner and by and under the Powers and Authorities and directions contained in the Charter.

But supposing that an Executor had in due form proved the Will or that an Administration had been granted, The Rule of Distribution of the deceased's Effects, is first to pay off Judgments then Bonds of all Sorts and other Specialtys under hand and Seal and then Simple Contract Debts or in other words Debts not under hand and Seal and it is just and right to pay Debts of Equal degree proportionably.

But it is to be remarked that the Debt due for rent may be distrained for by the Landlord preferable to any other Demand.

I do not find any such Clauses in the Act of the 5th of King George as are mentioned in the opinion of the President this Law having relation only to such persons against whom Commissions of Bankrupt[cy had been] issued in their Lifetimes.

THO. WOODFORD,
24th January 1728.

X.

Letter Book. Vol. 28.

24th January 1753. Sent Per Egmont

Relating to the Charter.

OUR PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM IN BENGAL.

1. When the Reestablishment of our Settlement at Fort St. George was under our Consideration, We intended to have revived the Courts of Justice there which were granted by the Letters Patent of the 13th year of the Reign

of his late Majesty, but upon advising with Mr Attorney General, Mr Sollicitor General (and Mr Yorke our Standing Council) We were informed that by reason of the taking of that Place by the French and their Possession of it afterwards, all the Powers and Authorities which by that Charter were granted for holding of Pleas in civil Actions at Fort St. George were at an end, and that it would be necessarry for us to apply to his Majesty for a new Charter.

2. And there being some Defects in the former Charter and some Alterations necessary and that there might be an Uniformity in the Constitution of several Settlements in the East Indies, We were advised by the same Gentlemen to Petition his Majesty for leave to surrender our former Charters, and that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to grant Us a new one for our several Settlements, and accordingly his Majesty has been pleased to accept of such Surrender of our said former Charter, and to grant Us new ones for our principal Settlements in India, an Exemplification of which new Charter under the Great Seal of Great Britain We send you herewith, as also two written Copys of the present Charter and of the Surrender of the former bound separately, the one for the common Use of our Governour and Council, and the other for that of the Mayor's Court.

3. By the new Charter our President and Council and also the Mayor's Court are within Thirty Days after the Arrival thereof to qualify themselves as by this Charter is directed, and from that time all Powers and Authoritys granted by the former Charters are to cease and to be no longer acted under, But all proceedings as well Civil as Criminal, which at the time of the Arrival of this Charter shall be then depending, are to be continued and carried on before their Jurisdictions without Abatement or Revival.

4. Our President and all our Council are constituted Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and Goal Delivery, and the Mayor and Aldermen who shall be such at the time of the Arrival of this Charter are continued in their several Employments, all Vacancies in the Court of Aldermen are for the future to be supplyed and filled up by our Governour and Council, which We recommend and direct them to do out of our Covenanted Servants, if at such times there shall be a sufficient number of them fitly qualified and if not, then they must supply such Vacancies with the Principal Inhabitants of the Place.

5. The Mayor's Court are annually to return two members of their Body to our Governour and Council, out of which they are to chuse one to be Mayor for the ensuing Year.

6. There are several Rules and Directions relative to the Administration of Justice, varying from the former Charter, particularly for receiving Evidence upon Affirmation from such Persons who by their Cast cannot submit to take an Oath.

7. All Moneys, Securitys and Effects of the Suitors which shall be ordered into Court are to be deposited with our President and Council, for which the Company are to be answerable under such Exceptions as in the Charter are mentioned, and an Accountant General is to be appointed, who with the Register of the Mayor's Court is to keep the Accounts between our President and Council and that Court.

8. And in regard the Suing for small Debts according to the ordinary Method of Proceeding in the Mayor's Court is attended with a greater Expence than the Nature of such Suits can bear, a Court of Requests is by this Charter erected for Hearing and determining in a Summary way all disputes where the Matter in Question shall not exceed the Value of Five Pagodas.

9. These are the material parts of the Charter, which We at present think fit to take Notice of, but We strictly recommend it to You and to the Mayor's Court, that You would attentively read over the Charter, and that You and they will in all respects conform yourselves thereto.

10. Within Thirty Days after the Arrival of this Charter our President and Council are to take the Oaths of Allegiance and as Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and Goal Delivery, and must afterwards fill up the Vacancies if any among the Aldermen, who must take the Oaths directed by the Charter, being the same as were directed by the former Charter, the Forms whereof are to be found in the Book of Instructions sent out to the Mayor's Court with the former Charter of the 13th of the late King, and the Substance of this Charter so far as relates to the People and Inhabitants should be published to them in the same manner the former Charter was, for the Particulars whereof We refer You to your own Entrys with this Addition, that it should be known to such of the Natives as cannot in their Consciences condescend to the taking of an Oath, that their Evidence is for the purpose to be admitted upon Affirmation, or in such manner as they shall think most binding upon them to speak the Truth.

11. The Reason for this Indulgence to the Natives of India to give their Evidence by Affirmation is, That some Persons We are informed have lost their Debts and others have submitted to lye in Prison rather than to submit to the taking an Oath, an Instance of which was in the Cause of Cole and Deepchund, where the latter who could not from his Cast take an Oath withdrew himself, as he knew he must otherwise lye in Prison, as his Answer would not be received without being given in upon Oath, which his Conscience would not permit him to submit to.

12. And upon this Occasion We must observe that if the Orders of the King in Council made in this Cause have not been carried into Execution, It might be of great consequence to apply to Deepchund to put in his own Answer and to make his own Defence to Mr. Cole's Bill, as he can thereby State his

own Case better than any one can do it for him, and as such his Answer must now be received upon his own Affirmation, without putting him under the difficulty of taking an Oath.

13. The Court of Directors agreeable to the new Charter by an Instrument in Writing under the Company's Seal sent herewith, have obliged the Company to be answerable in the Terms of the Charter for such Moneys, Effects and Securitys as shall be deposited with their Governour or President and Council, and by an Order under the Hands of Thirteen or more of the Directors, they have authorized You to appoint an Accountant General, and directed him in what manner that Office is to be executed.

14. The Erecting of this Office of Accountant General is of the utmost Importance to the Suitors, and on that Account We have undertaken to be at the Expence of it, and that the Suitors shall not be burthened.

15. The Office itself is new, and a Person must be appointed by the Governour and Council to keep their Accounts with the Accountant General and whole Trouble the Register of the Mayor's Court will have by keeping the like Accounts with the Governour and Council and Accountant General is additional Duty to his Office, a proper Satisfaction should therefore be made to all those Officers for their Service, but what or how much that should be We cannot at present form any Judgment, as that will in a great Measure depend upon the Trouble they will have and the Advantage that may arise to Us from such Money of the Suitors as may be paid into and remain in our Treasury, and therefore We suspend for the present appointing any Salarys to these Officers, and desire You will let Us know your Sentiments what Salarys should be paid to each of them with your Reasons for the same, and in the mean time We permit and authorize You to make them such moderate Allowances for their Trouble as You shall think resonable.

16. As the Mayor's Court has been long in Possession of their Jurisdiction, so that they have established to themselves Forms and Methods of Proceeding We shall refer them to follow the same, and the Rules of Practice laid down in the Book of Instructions sent them by the former Charter, except in such Instances wherein they have deviated from the same, wherein We particularly Remark that they have suffered the Proceedings before them to be prolix and Impertinent, Whereas in the Bill and in the Answer the Partys Case and Defence should be stated in the most clear and concise manner, without Observations, Arguments or Inferences, all which ought to be expunged as Impertinent and as proper Arguments for the Counsel or Attorneys to make use of at the Hearing rather than to Insert in their Pleadings. We cannot help taking Notice, that Special Replications and Rejoynders with other special Proceedings have been admitted after a full Answer has been put in, All which We consider as Impertinent, and occasioning great delays, and put

the Suitors to a most unnecessary Expence. The Proceedings in the Cause between Dawson and Brooke contain flagrant Instances of this kind, and to prevent the like in future, We do hereby Will and order and direct You to acquaint the Mayor's Court, that after a full Answer is put in, no special Replication or Rejoinder or any subsequent special Proceedings shall be admitted in any Case whatsoever; But that after a full Answer is put in, the Plaintiff shall reply and the Defendant or Defendants shall rejoin according to the common or usual Form laid down in the Book of Instructions, and that thereupon the Partys to give such Rules for producing Witnesses and passing Publication as in the said Book is directed, which Method is as We are informed agreeable to the constant stated Rules of Practice in all the Courts of Equity in this Kingdom, and if any Attorney or Sollicitor shall offend by inserting any scandalous or impertinent Matter in any Bill or Answer, We order and direct that the same be expunged, and that such Attorney or Sollicitor and not the Client do pay the Costs occasioned thereby out of his own Pocket.

17. With respect to Criminal Proceedings, We have nothing to add to the Instructions already given, unless it is, that the Legislature having in the last Session made an Act of Parliament for better preventing the horrid Crime of Murder, several printed Copys whereof We send You herewith, So if the Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer think it may be a means to prevent or deter Persons from committing that horrid Crime, they may in Case of Conviction proceed to Judgment and Execution, and disposal of the Body in the manner that Act directs.

18. Having given our Directions with regard to the Civil and Criminal Jurisdictions granted by the Charter (Except the Court of Requests) it remains for Us to give our Instructions upon that Head.

19. An easy summary and less expensive Method for recovery of Debts than the common form of Proceedings allow has long been wished for, It has formerly been attempted at all or most of our Settlements, but We having then no sufficient Authority to hold such Courts, the Design however useful was to be laid aside. The many Acts of Parliament that have of late Years passed here for the erecting of such Courts in several Citys and Boroughs of this Kingdom together with our own Opinions sufficiently convinces Us of the Utility of such Courts. For these Reasons We petition'd his Majesty that by new Charter he would erect such Courts, which his Majesty has been graciously pleased to comply with.

20. And We send You herewith unders the Hands of Thirteen or more of the Court of Directors, certain Rules, Orders and Regulations to be observed by your selves and by the Commissioners of the Court of Requests, so far as respectively concern You, and We do in a particular manner recommend to You and to the Commissioners that in the first Nomination of Commissioners, and

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in all future appointments of them our Convenanted Servants shall always have a preference or be first named, and if there should not be a sufficient number of them to answer this purpose, the rest must be made up out of the Principal Inhabitants.

21. We likewise recommend it to You that the Officers of the Court be as few and the Fees as moderate as possible, that the Suitors may find Relief without Oppression, and as this Court is calculated for the Benefit of the poorest of the People, We hope none of our Servants or of the Inhabitants that shall be nominated as Commissioners will decline the Service, as by an honest and faithful discharge of their Duty they may be a Blessing to the People.

22. And for your further Assistance in carrying this part of the Charter in Execution, We send You several printed Acts of Parliament whereby the like Courts are established in this Kingdom, and We leave it to your President and Council with the Assistance of the Commissioners besides the Orders and Instructions We now send You, to take such other Parts of the several Acts of Parliament, and to establish such further Rules and Orders of your own, as in your Opinions will best conduce to those good Ends for which this Power was desired and obtained, subject always to our Controul and Alteration.

23. And as this Court of Requests will at first be at a Loss with regard to the form of their Process and Order and the Method of keeping their Books, We send You with this dispatch a Book of Instructions upon this Head with an Appendix thereto containing the Forms their Orders and Process, and the Method of keeping such Books as will be necessary, and which are agreeable to the Forms and Methods made Use of in the Court of Requests here, And We recommend it to the Commissioners to follow the same Rules unless any better Method occurs to them, which as often as it does, they are at Liberty to pursue their own.

24. You will perceive by our Instructions with regard to the Court of Request, that all Money ordered to be paid into Court, must be paid unto and lodged with the Clerk of the Court to be paid over to the Plaintiffs according to the Commissioners Orders, at present these sums will be small, and such as the Clerk of the Court may himself be sufficient for, but in time, and as this Court may happen to take with the People considerable Sums may be lodged with the Clerk, We recommend it therefore to the Commissioners to have a watchful Eye to this Matter, and whenever they think it necessary to call upon and oblige their Clerk to give sufficient Security to their Satisfaction, to be answerable to the Suitors for all Moneys which shall be paid into their Hands under any Order of Court.

25. And to prevent Persons suing in the Mayor's Court, where the Matter does not exceed the Value of Five Pagodas, We have made an Order,

which We send You herewith, whereby the Mayor's Court are in all Cases directed not to allow the Plaintiff any Costs, but to oblige him to pay Cost to the Defendant.

26. In the framing of this Charter, We have endeavoured to obtain all such Powers and Authorities, as might best tend to the Advancement of Justice, the due Administration of it, and the good of our Settlements, but as the best concerted undertakings however well intended oftentimes fall short of their Institution, and when put in Practice, many Errors and Defects are discovered, so We desire You our President and Council and likewise the Mayor's Court, the Accountant General and the Court of Request from time to time to transmit Us particular Accounts of their several Proceedings in their several Jurisdictions and Office, pointing out to Us any further Alterations Powers and Authorities that may be necessary, or wherein the present should be varied, That so far as our Authority extends, We may assist them, so as to render this Charter as Useful and extensive for the publick good as can be desired.

27. We likewise desire and Direct You to inform the Mayor's Court, Accountant General and Court of Requests of so much of this our Letter as relates to them respectively, and to give them Copys of such part thereof as they may desire.

LONDON,
24th January, 1753.

We are,
Your Loving Friends,
WILLIAM BAKER, *Chairman*,
(and 22 others).

XI.

Bengal Letters Received Vol. 2.

TO THE HON'BLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS FOR AFFAIRS OF THE HON'BLE THE UNITED COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF ENGLAND TRADING TO THE EAST INDIES.

May it please Your Honours.—

* * * * * * *

Para. 154. Upon receipt of your Honours Packet Per Egmont We read the Exemplification of his Majesty's New Charter sent us by that Ship, and on the 5th day of October Promulgated the Same. The first thing We did was the Appointment of Twelve Commissioners for the Court of Requests, as many of which as We could We chose out of your Honours Covenanted

Servants. We then appointed Mr. Thomas Coales Accomptant General as directed in the Charter; and We have transmitted the two Courts such Paragraphs of your Orders as relate to them, Agreeable to your Honours Commands to us.

155. Your Honours will perceive by our Consultations what has since pass'd between us and the Court of Requests in regard to the Establishment of that Court with Officers and Allowances on the most reasonable footing; and as the Fees settled by Act of Parliament for Courts of the Same Nature in England were esteemed too extravagant for this Country We agreed to make the Officers of that Court certain reasonable Allowances and Levy a Duty of 5 Per Cent. on all Suits determined there, which was Accordingly done, and Continued till after the Ballott for New Commissioners in the beginning of December, When they inform'd us by Letter that the Peons they had hitherto entertain'd by our Orders were not Sufficient, and that they were in want of further writing Assistance, the Business of that Court encreasing daily, upon which We left it to them to make what Allowances they thought proper, and Collect a larger Duty for the reimbursement of such Advanc'd Charges.

156. As the Charter directs all Suits under 5 Pagodas should be Prosecuted in this Court, We order'd the Zemindar should not take Cognizance of any disputes of Property under 20 Current Rupees, to prevent the Jurisdiction of the Cutcherry and that Court interfering with one Another and Creating Continual Contests between them.

157. Three of the Members of the Mayors Court being absent at the time the Charter Arrived, and not Coming in time to Qualify themselves for their Seats on the Bench, We have appointed Messrs. Valicourt, Verelst and Fullerton Aldermen in their room, as one of the absent Members has been out of the place more than a Twelve Month, and there is no Probability of the other Two returning within that time. The reason of our not filling up these Vacancies at the time of Swearing in the Mayor and Aldermen was the ground we then had to Imagine they would arrive very quickly, but from Advices Since received that not being possible, We thought it for the Advantage of the Place that the Administration of Justice should not be confined to so small a Number.

* * * * * * *

Yours faithful, &c., &c.,

ROGER DRAKE JUNR.,
(and eight others).

FORT WILLIAM,
The 4th January, 1754.

XIII.

Bengal Public Proceedings
Range I. Vol. 26.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 20th September, 1753.

At a Consultation present,

The Honble. Roger Drake, *President*, &c., &c.

* * * * * * *

Being met this morning to peruse the exemplification of the new Charter, with the several papers belonging thereto conformable to the Honble. Companys directions.

Read the Honble. Companys separate Letter dated the 24th January, 1753 relative to the Charter.

Read the exemplification of the new Charter and compared the copies with the original.

Read the rules Orders and Directions for the regulation and Government of the Court of Requests.

Read the order for appointing an Accomptant General.

After having read the above papers, We proceeded to the appointment of Commissioners for the Court of Requests which are as follows:—

Henry Kelsall.
Thomas Coales.
James Valicourt.
William Billers.
Samuel Waller.
William Tooke.
Francis Sykes.
John Browne.
Nathaniel Wilson.
John Knox, junr.
Thomas Purnel.
Joseph Githen.

Ordered the Secretary to give them notice thereof.

Agreed that Mr. Thomas Coales be appointed Accomptant General agreeable to the tenour of the Charter, and that Mr. Amyatt do keep the account of the Deposits on behalf of the Company.

Ordered a Copy of the Charter be deliver'd the Mayors Court after publication and

Agreed that the Charter be promulg'd on the 5th October next ensuing in the great Hall of the Fort

Order'd notice thereof to be affix'd at all public places in the several Languages.

XIV.

Bengal Mayor's Court Proceedings, CLV. Vol. 27.

CALCUTTA
28th September 1753.

The Register produced to the Court a Letter Sealed with the Company's Seal Directed to William Nixon Esqr. Mayor of the Town of Calcutta Messrs. Holland Goddard, Peter Noke, Robert Halsey Baldrick, Richard Court, George Gray, Samuel Oliver, David Rannie and Bartholomew Plaisted Aldermen of the said Town of Calcutta in the Kingdom of Bengall which he Informs the Court was lodged in the Registry in his absence and said to be sent by Mr. John Cooke the Governour and Councils Secretary on Wednesday 26th Instant about Noon.

Ordered the Same to be open'd and read which being open'd and read was found to Contain as follows.

TO WILLIAM NIXON ESQR. &C. &C.

GENTLEMEN,

The Honble. Company having thought proper to surrender up their former Charters for all their Settlements in India his Majesty has been graciously pleased by his Letters Patent under the great Seal of England to grant them new ones for their said Settlements with the alterations therein by them requested and thought necessary The Exemplification for this presidency being arrived the Honble. the President and Council have Determined to promulgate the same on Fryday the 5 of October next ensuing and as the present Members of the Mayors Court are therein Confirmed Mayor and Aldermen of this Town I am Directed to require your Attendance in the Great Hall of Fort William on the before specified Day at 9 a Clock in the forenoon with the Several Officers of your Court and all the Formalities thereto belonging in the same Manner as is practis'd at the Election of a New Mayor then and there to hear the same promulged and take the Oaths of Allegiance and Office.

I am Gentlemen
Your most Obedient Humble Servant,

FORT WILLIAM,
The 27th September 1753.

JOHN COOKE,
Secretary.

ORDERED the Register to address the Governour and Council that they will be pleased to transmitt to this Court one of the written Copies of the Exemplification of his Majestys Charter which the Court are informed the Company have transmitted to them for perusal before the Day appointed for taking the Oath of Office.

XV.

Mayors Court Proceedings
Range CLV. Vol. 27.

CALCUTTA,
4th October 1753.

(Extract of a letter from Mr Secretary Cooke to the Mayor's Court, dated Fort William, 2d October 1753).

I am directed by the Honble. The President and Council to acquaint you they think the transmitting of a Copy of the Exemplification to be perused before the Publication of it inconsistent with method but as his Majesty has been pleased to allow them as well as the Members of your Court the space of Thirty Days before you qualifye your selves for your Offices by taking the Oaths in his said Charter Directed the Mayor and Aldermen may if they require it have a Copy and peruse the same (after the Promulgation of the said Charter) before they take the Oaths of office and Allegiance, please to inform the Members of your Court of the purport hereof.

ORDERED the Register to address the Honble. the President and Council to Acquaint them that this Court will attend at the Promulgation of the Charter as requested and that after the Promulgation the Court do request that a Copy of the Exemplification of his Majesty's Charter may then and there be Delivered them in Order to Inform the Members of the Nature of the office to which they are to be Sworn.

XVI.

CALCUTTA,
11th October 1753.

The Register produced the President and Councils Letter to this Court which being read contains as follows :—

TO THE WORSHIPFULL THE MAYORS COURT OF CALCUTTA AT FORT WILLIAM IN BENGALL.

GENTLEMEN,

The Publication of his Majesty's New Charter having been Yesterday performed in the presence of the Inhabitants in General of this Town as well as your Selves the Honble. the President and Council have directed me to send you the following Papers for which I request a receipt may be given under the hand of your Register or otherwise as you think fit.

Copy of his Majesty's New Charter.

The Honble. Company's Order to the Mayors Court to give Costs to the Defendant when the Matter Sued for Shall not Exceed five Pagodas.

Extracts of such Paragraphs of the Honble. Company's Separate Letter Dated the 24 January 1753 as relate to the Mayors Court.

As all proceedings in your Court will now remain at a Stop till you have duly Qualified your Selves as by this Charter is Directed and as Such a

Stagnation to the Administration of Justice may be a Grievance to Numbers who have any Civil Pleas depending in your Court the said Honble. the President and Council have Directed me to signifye to you that they have fixed upon Thursday next for administering the Oath of Allegiance and Office to the Members of your Court and Request your Attendance on that Day in Fort William to take the Same.

I am Gentlemen,
Your most Obedt. Humble Servant,
JOHN COOKE.
Secretary.

FORT WILLIAM,
6th October 1753.

XVII.

Bengal Public Proceedings Range I. Vol. 26.

FORT WILLIAM,
11 *October* 1753.

At a Consultation present.
The Honble. Roger Drake, Esqr. *President &c., &c.*

* * * * * * *

Having appointed this morning to tender the Oaths of Office and Allegiance to the Mayor and Aldermen agreeable to the directions in the new Charter and the members of the Mayors Court attending in consequence of our Order for that purpose Swore them in accordingly.

XIX.

Bengal - Mayors Court Proceedings Range CLV. Vol. 27.

CALCUTTA,
11*th October* 1753.

At a Court held Thursday 11th October 1753.
Present:—William Nixon Esqr., Mayor; Mr. Holland Goddard; Mr. George Gray; Mr. Samuel Oliver; Mr. David Rannie.

The Members of this Court as above named having this Day been Duly Sworn in their Office by the President and Council of Fort William now take their Seats on the bench to proceed on the business of their function and Office Messrs Peter Nokes R. H. Baldrick and Richard Court Aldermen being absent at Sea and Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted Alderman being Dangerously ill Could not Attend with the other Members to be sworn.

ORDERED therefore that the Mayor do attend the President and Council with the said Members the first Opportunity that shall offer to present and See them Duly Sworn into the Office of Alderman and Judge of this Court.

ORDERED that the Serjeant do make proclamation commanding Silence.

ORDERED that Mr. Parker late Register do read his Majesty's Charter to the Publick which was read accordingly.

THIS COURT Observing his Majesty's New Charter gives them power to Nominate and appoint their own officers the Court Accordingly do now Nominate and appoint Mr. William Parker to be Register of this Court, James Meredith, William Dumbleton and Edward Ridge Attorneys and Thomas Tilley and William Cartwright to be Serjeants in the service of this Court who are now Sworn in Accordingly the President and Council having sent to this Court some Papers and Extracts as entered on this days record ordered that the Register do give a receipt for the same and that the Register do prepare and keep a separate book to enter attested Copys of all such Extracts and Instructions as shall be Directed by the Company to this Court to have recourse to them respectively on any Occasion.

ORDERED the Register to Draw out a fair Table of fees for the Regulation of the Officers of this Court in Order to lay before the President for the time being for his approval or Amendments and then after to Publickly affix them upon the Town Hall that all persons Concerned may Govern themselves Accordingly.

ORDERED the Register to search the Records of the Court and make Extracts of all Such Orders and Regulations for the Practice of the Court as have been from time to time appointed by the Members of the Court erected by the Old Charter and lay the same before the Court for their Inspection.

ORDERS FOR THE MAYOR'S COURT AT CALCUTTA.

WHEREAS his Majesty King George the Second by his Letters Patent under the great Seal of Great Britain bearing date at Westminster the Eighth Day of January in the twenty sixth year of his reign Did for himself his heirs and successors give and grant unto the said United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies and their successors And did thereby Ordain direct establish and appoint that there should be for ever thereafter within the Town or Factory of Calcutta at Fort William in Bengall in the East Indies one body Publick and Corporate by the name of the Mayor and Aldermen of Calcutta at Fort William in Bengall and did thereby give and grant to the said Company and their successors and Did thereby Ordain direct and appoint that the Mayor and Aldermen for the time being at Calcutta at Fort William in Bengall aforesaid should for ever be and they are thereby Constituted a Court of Record by the Name of the MAYORS COURT OF CALCUTTA at Fort William in Bengall and that they or any three or more of them whereof the Mayor or Senior Alderman then residing there to be one May and they are thereby authorized to try hear and determine all Civill Suits Actions and pleas that shall or may arise or Happen or that had already arisen or happened within the said Town of Calcutta at Fort William in Bengall or within any of the Factorys subject or Subordinate to the said Company's Factory or Settlement at Calcutta at Fort William in Bengall or

to the Governour or President and the Council at Calcutta at Fort William in Bengall aforesaid Except as therein is mention'd and by the same Charter or Letters Patent his Majesty did give full Power and Authority to the Court of Directors of the said United Company or any thirteen or more of them to make such rules and Orders for the better Administration of Justice in the said Mayors Court as they should from time to time think fit and Necessary and by the same Charter or Letters Patent for the providing a more speedy and easy way for the Recovery of Small Debts within the said Town of Calcutta at Fort William in Bengall his said Majesty Did thereby give and grant to the said United Company and Did Direct and appoint that there should be a Court of Requests in the said Town of Calcutta at Fort William in Bengall who should have full power to hear and Determine all such Actions or Suites as should be brought before them where the Debt Duty or matter of Dispute should not exceed or be more than the value of five Pagodas AND WHEREAS Notwithstanding the Provisions made by the said charter for the suing and recovering of Small Debts in a Summary way yet Vexatious or ill minded persons may be induced to Commence or bring Actions or Suits in the Mayors Court at Calcutta at Fort William in Bengall where the Debt Duty or Matter in Dispute may not Exceed to be more than the Value of five Pagodas Contrary to the Intent and Meaning of his said Majesty's Letters Patent for preventing thereof we the Court of Directors of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies whose names are hereunto Subscribed and Sett being the Major part of the said Court of Directors in persuance of the several powers and authorities in and by the said Letters Patent givin and Granting (*sic*) unto the said Court of Directors of the said United Company do hereby ordain and Direct that if in any Action for Recovery of any Debt to be sued or prosecuted against any Person or Persons in the Mayors Court of Calcutta it shall appear to the said Mayors Court that the Debt to be recovered by the Plaintiff in Such Action Doth not exceed the Value of five Pagodas and the Defendant in such Action shall Duly Prove by Sufficient Testimony to be allowed by the said Mayors Court that at the time of Commencing such Action such Defendant was Inhabiting and Resident within the said Town of Calcutta at Fort William in Bengall or the factories or Districts Subordinate thereto and was Liable to be warned or summoned before the said Court of Requests for Such Debt then and in such case the said Mayors Court shall not allow to the said Plaintiff any costs of Suit but shall award that the said Plaintiff shall pay so much Ordinary Costs to the Party Defendant as such Defendant shall justly prove before the said Mayors Court it hath truly cost him in the Defence of the said Suit.

AND we do further Order and direct that this Order shall be in force and take place at Calcutta at Fort William in Bengall and the factorys and Districts

thereof at the Same time the Court of Request established by his Majesty's aforesaid Royall Charter shall take place there.

EAST INDIA HOUSE
LONDON.
24th January 1753.

WILLIAM BAKER,
(and 22 others).

XX.

CALCUTTA
19th October 1753.

This being the day appointed for taking into Consideration that part of his Majesty's Charter Relating to the Indian Natives and this Court accordingly taking the same into Consideration the Question was put whom shall be Esteemed and Looked upon as Indian Natives.

The Court do understand the Charter to Mean only Mogulls and Gentoos to be Indian Natives who are excluded Complaining to this Court one against the Other.

XXI.

Bengal Public Proceedings Range I Vol. 26.

FORT WILLIAM,
29th October 1753.

At a Consultation present.

The Honble Roger Drake Esqr. *President &c. &c.*

* * * * * * *

The Court of requests send in a Letter to the board representing That they had mention'd the allowance we were pleased to direct for their officers to them, but that not one of them would serve on those terms, and as the business was very heavy they requested we would make the following salarys for which they were willing to serve

Bailiff	...	...	...	...	20
Cryer	...	...	...	...	10
Interpreter	...	...	...	...	20

that their Clerk declared, should we allow him 100 Rs. per month, he could not undertake to serve which they leave to our Consideration

Agreed the Secretary acquaint them we admit of the Salarys as they have settled them and are willing to allow their Clerk 100 Rs. per month, and that the Duty of 5 per Cent be Leyy'd till the new Election in December, when we shall regulate what may be thought necessary.

Mr. HOLWELL lays before the board an order affix'd in English, Persians and Bengall to the Fort Gate by the court of requests which runs in the following manner Viz. ordered that no Causes shall be heard in this Court that have already been heard and determined in the Cutcherry, And Also that whatever

peons are put upon any of the Natives for any Sum or sums of money Cognizable by this court, upon proper application, They shall be redress'd, and this to be a standing order, dated Calcutta 18 October 1753, Mr. Holwell begs leave to object to the latter part of the foregoing order and publication thereof, as unprecedented in any Court of Judicature whatever and tending not only to encourage a litigious spirit in the People, but also to throw any Odium on the Zemindarry to the certain Injury of the Companys Revenues in the most material article of daily Collections, That of Etlack, to say nothing of the Duty of 5 per Cent on the recovery of Debts, both which must be in a great degree affected by the Establishment of a court of requests, but much more so by the above very extraordinary order and publication, as the Bulk of the causes That come before the cutcherry are for sums cognizable by the said Court of Requests, Thus much he thinks necessary to represent to the Board, That they may not be surprised at the Daily Collections arising on Judicial part of the office being reduced

Ordered the Secretary to write to the said Court and require a further explanation of the latter part of that order

XXII.

FORT WILLIAM,
6th December, 1753.

At a Consultation present

The Honble. Roger Drake Esqr. *President &c. &c.*

* * * * * * *

THE CORPORATION now waited on the Board and acquainted them, They had as his Majesties late Charter directed elected two of their members (Messrs. William Nixon and Bartholomew Plaisted) to be return'd to them for their choice of one to be sworn into the office of Mayor

Agreed Mr William Nixon be sworn into the office of Mayor on the 20 Instant.

Agreed Mr John Cooke be sworn into the office of Sheriff on the same day

There being some Vacancies in the Mayors Court by the absence of their members.

Ageed we appoint Messrs James Valicourt and Harry Verelst Aldermen of that Court in the room of Messrs. Peter Nokes and Robert Halsey Baldrick.

[Here follows a long complaint by Messrs. David Rannie and Henry Kelsall, Aldermen against Messrs. Holland Goddard and George Gray. The complainants declare that his Majesty's gracious intention of preventing the estates of his subjects dying in India from going to waste and their just debts remaining unpaid, as mentioned in page 53 of the Charter, is frustrated by executors and administrators omitting to give inventories and accounts current of the estates with which they are entrusted].

XXIII.

Bengal Mayors Court Proceedings, Range CLV. Vol. 28.

CALCUTTA,
1st March 1754.

The following Letter being read and approved of by this Court.
ORDERED the Register to Copy out the same and transmit it to the Company by the Ship Falmouth now under her Dispatches TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS for affairs of the United Company of Merchants of England trading too the East Indies.

GENTLEMEN

Your President and Council of Fort William have sent to the Mayor and Aldermen of Calcutta your Order for the Mayors Court Dated the 24th January 1753 and Several Extracts of your Letter Directed to the Said President and Council of the Same Date so far as related to the Mayors Court and among others that part of your Letter wherein you desire the Mayors Court from time to time to point out to you any further Alterations Powers and Authoritys that may be necessary or wherein the present Charter should be Varied that so far as your Authoritys extends You may Assist so as to render this Charter as usefull and extensive for the Publick Good as can be desired.

We cannot find that any Provision is made in the Charter How to Proceed in cases where the Bail dies the Defendant also being dead or withdrawn before full Satisfaction be made to such final Decree as has or shall be made on the case it being a point in Queston here whether or not the Estate Goods Effects and Chattels of the Bail so dying are responsible and subject to an Attachment and Sale in Order to make full Satisfaction to such final Decrees as have or shall be made on the Case.

We are also at a Loss how to proceed in Cases of supposed Lunacy an Instance of this being now under our Consideration as follows—Mr. Solomon Margass of Calcutta by Letter or Petition Dated 9th August 1753 applied to the President and Council setting forth that Sophia Aratoon his Sister in Law then Living in his House was become a Lunatick and therefore prayed the President and Council as she had a Family and Effects to appoint a Guardian to her Person and Effects Soon after this Mr. Margass Vizt 23d day of September 1753 filed in the Mayors Court his Bill of Complaint against the said Sophia Aratoon Widow for a Debt on Account and She not having delivered in any Answer he Mr. Margass very Pressingly moved the Court for Judgment against her for Default When her Attorney at Law prayed the Court that Judgment might not pass against the Defendant for Default shewing for Cause that he had often Visited her but never found her Sufficiently in her Senses either to give him Instructions for her Answer or to take his Advice the Premisses Considered the Court thought Proper to defer proceeding on the

Case till advice could be procured from England and for that Purpose we here Inclose an Attested Copy of the Courts Proceedings hitherto had on the Case.

We Delivered to Your President and Council a Book Containing Copy of our Court Proceedings from December 1752 to December 1753 to be forwarded to You by Your Ship Durrington Captain Richard Drake, which we wish Safe to Your hands and referr you to the same for our Proceedings had on the 11th 22d and 25th Days of August 1753 and of the 2d, 20th and 23d November 14th, 18th and 29th December and 11th January 5th and 16th February 1754 in Consequence of a Bill of Complaint filed the 14th August 1753 (the Charter granted by his late Majesty King George the first being at that time in force) by Soodasibdoss Against One Gopaul Buddar both Inhabitants of Calcutta. You will observe the Court insisted upon the rights granted by the Charter whereby this Court Exclusive of all other Persons is empowered and Directed in the first Instance to try hear and Determine all Civil Suits, Actions and Pleas that shall arise between Party and Party within the Jurisdiction of this Town of Calcutta, but Mr. John Zephaniah Holwell Town Zemindar whose Duty is only to collect your Revenues did assume to himself and that in his single person a power and authority to try hear and determine Civil Suits Actions and Pleas in the Town and enforce his Decrees by Imprisonment and other Severities although he is no way warranted so to do either by the Old or New Charter, this occasioned the Court to require Mr. Holwell to release the Complainant Soodasubdoss then Imprisoned by him which he refusing to do, this Court applied by Letter under date 20th November 1753 to your President and Council to have the Complainant Soodasubdoss released, and that Mr. Holwell should be direct to receed from such practices in future and make proper satisfaction to this Court for such his refusal, but your President and Council have been silent hitherto on the matter and Soodasubdoss continues to be kept a prisoner which has reduced us unto the necessity of writing you on this Case.

We also refer you to the Copy of our Proceedings sent you for your Perusal and Opinion of several Orders and Rules of Justice which were thought proper to be made in the space of time contained in these proceedings and among others to that Order bearing Date 23d October 1753 relating to Executors and Administrators, but that not being thought sufficient by Mr. Alderman Rannie he made several motions under date of 30th October 6th 13th 15th and 20th November 1753 upon which many debates arose and these occasioned Mr. Alderman Rannie Joined by Mr. Alderman Kelsall, to exhibit a Charge and Complaint to your President and Council against Mr. Alderman Goddard and Mr. Alderman Gray, Copy of which charge and Copy of the Demur and Answer thereto We here Inclose as also Copy of Your President and Council their Proceedings had thereon when they dismissed the Complaint.

As several Deposits of Various Silver Rupees Coin'd in Several Mints of the Mogulls Empire, which had been made by Suitors into the Mayors Court under Directions of the Old Charter and remaining in the Court Chests when the New Charter arrived a list of which we herewith transmit you, the Court being willing that the said deposits of various silver Rupees of the Mogull Empire should be Preserved and Secured for the benefit of the Suitors in the Most Carefull and Effectual Manner and accordingly on the 12th February 1754 Ordered that the same should be deliver'd over to your President and Council of Fort William to be safely kept with Your Effects Subject to such Orders as the Mayors Court should from time to time think fit to make Concerning the Same for the Benefit of the Suitors Agreeable to the rules and Prescriptions laid down in the New Charter, of which Order having acquainted your President and Council they have this day informed the Court in a Letter from their Secretary of their Acceptance of the Same and the Deposits are now delivering over.

We are at a Loss to understand that Part of your Instructions to the Accomptant General of the Mayors Court, directing the Accomptant General to draw upon the President and Council for such Deposit as the Mayors Court shall order the President and Council to pay or deliver the Suitor as the form of the said Draft Contains a Proviso that in Case the said Draft be not Paid or Complyed with in a Month after date then the same to be void NOW FOR AS MUCH as many Accidents may happen by which the limited time may be elapsed before such draught be paid or complyed with and the Draft thereby become void the Question follows Which way is the Suitor to recover his Money or Effects.

As we observe by the New Charter that the Mayors Court is forbid hearing or Determining Suits between the Indian Natives Unless by Consent of both Partys a Case that we Conceive will Never happen, and so are left to Decide their Disputes among themselves but for want of a Compulsive Power to bring them to a Decision Propeity will become so Precarious among them that Persons injured will find themselves Obliged to Apply to the Country Government for Justice and therefore we Conceive will overthow his Majesty's most gracious Intention of transmitting the Benefit of the Laws of England to his Most distant Subjects residing under Your Protection here abroad, Which we are of Opinion all those May be Deemed to be who reside and enjoy their trade and Property under the Protection of the English Flag be they of any Nation whatever HENCE a Settlement rendered so flourishing by the great Concourse of Indian Merchants to enjoy the Benefit of our Laws will be greatly Depopulated and Reduced to a fishing Town although Mr. Holwell in his Letter to our Register under date the 22d day of August 1753 has thought proper to advance and maintain that he in his single Person has a Power

from you to decide in Matters of Property yet should what he advances be true we are of Opinion that the Power of deciding of Matters of Property by him or any single Person finally will in the end prove ruinous to the Settlement for though he admits his Decisions are appealable to the President and Council yet some means must certainly have been found to hinder such Appeals for in a Course of many years we cannot find any Appeal ever was made nor do we believe there ever will be one though no doubt many Persons must have thought themselves aggrieved by some Decisions at the Cutcherry.

We request you will be pleased to give us your answer by the next opportunity.

We are Gentlemen,
Your most Obedt. Humble Servants,
WILLIAM NIXON, *Mayor.*
DAVID RANNIE.
BARTHOLOMEW PLAISTED.
HENRY KELSALL, *Aldermen.*
JAMES VALICOURT.
HARRY VERELST.
WILLAM FULLERTON.

CALCUTTA TOWN HALL,
1 March 1754.

APPENDIX.

Early Parliamentary Papers relating to India—printed in 1788. Coll. No. 22.

AN Account of the Several Persons who have been prosecuted in the Court of Quarter Sessions in Calcutta, for Criminal Offences, according to the Laws of England, from the 1st of January 1762 to the 1st of October 1774; Specifying the Names and Crimes of such Persons, together with the Dates of such Prosecutions respectively, and which of the said Persons were convicted, and the Sentences pronounced on such convictions.

Serial No.	Date of Prosecution.	Names of Persons tried	Crime.	Verdict.	Sentence.
	1762				
1	Augst. 27th...	Loll Khan ...	Privately Stealing	Not Guilty.	
2	Novr. 27th ...	Sook Deb, and Diaram	Murder ...	Do.	
3	30th ...	Enasse Gosaul ...	Felony ...	Guilty of an assault, but not of the Felony.	To be flogged at the Cart's Tail every Monday for a month with a cat of Nine Tails.
4	...	Owen John Soorkeas Kirporam Mollay	Burglary ...	Not Guilty.	
5	Decr. 1st ...	Brijoo Hazerath ...	Felony ...	Guilty Stealing, Value 10*d.*	Do.
6	...	L. Granidier ..	Murder ...	Not Guilty.	
7	3rd ...	Allady Panche	Rape ...	Guilty ...	Death.
8	17th ...	Ramram ...	Murder ...	Pleaded Guilty	Do.
9	...	Caville ...	Burglary ...	Guilty	Do.
	1763				
10	Febry. 28th ...	E. Barry Dooberage	Burglary ...	Not Guilty.	
	1763.				
11	Augst 27th ...	Mignel Van Colsten ...	Murder ..	Not Guilty.	
12	Septr. 1st ...	Jaffier Golaum Hossein Occoor	Burglary ...	Guilty ... Do. ... Acquitted.	Death. Do.
13	Novr. 29th ...	Mary D'Rosario ...	Murder ...	Not Guilty.	
14	30th ...	Bernando ...	Felony ...	Discharged, the Prosecutor not appearing.	
15	...	Diaram ..	Felony ...	Guilty Stealing to the value of 10*d.*	To be whipped at the Public Market Place Four successive Mondays.
16	Novr. 30th ...	Marshall Johnson ...	Assault ...	Guilty ...	To be imprisoned till next Sessions, then left to the Discretion of the Justices to release him, on finding sureties for his good Behaviour.

APPENDIX—*Contd.*

Serial No.	Date of Prosecution.	Names of Persons tried.	Crime.	Verdict.	Sentence.
17	...	Bridjoo ...	Murder ...	Accessary to the Murder.	Death
	1764.				
18	Febry. 28th ...	Collin Campbell ...	Assault ...	Pleaded Guilty	Fined £100, to be imprisoned One Month, and to find Security for his good Behaviour, himself in £1,000, and Two Sureties in £500 each.
19	May 28th...	Fras. Russell ...	Forgery ..	Guilty ..	To be whipped round the Town at the Cart's Tail.
20	Septr. 11th ...	Susanna ..	Murder ...	Not Guilty.	
21	12th ...	Robt. Baker ...	Felony ...	Guilty of Stealing to the value of 10*d.*	To receive 100 Stripes with a Cat of Nine Tails.
22	...	Jean La Finesse ...	Assault ...	Guilty ..	A small Fine.
23	Decr. 14th ...	Frederick Hinnings ...	Murder ...	Not Guilty.	
	1765.				
24	Febry. 27th ...	Radachurn Metre ...	Forgery ...	Guilty ...	Death. Pardoned.
25	May 27th ...	Shake Sobdy ...	Felony ...	Do. ...	Death.
26	Augst. 27th ...	Contou ...	Murder ...	Do. ...	Do.
27	...	Cooil Mahomed Reza Kedaine Tittaoo Gauzee Ariff Babaaloo Cotubbe Monalda Anunderam and Noon Mahommed	Felony and Murder.	Pleaded Guilty of the Felony.	Death.
28	Novr. 27th ...	Nathanl. Freeman ...	Assault ...	Guilty ...	Fined £50 and to be confined until he find security for his good Behaviour for Twelve Months.
	1766				
29	Febry. 27th ...	Bavauny ...	Murder ...	Not Guilty ...	
30	...	Lallchund ...	Do. ...	Guilty ..	Death.
31	...	Netow ...	Do. ...	Not Guilty	
32	May 27th ...	Lallbaharry ...	Do. ...	Do.	
33	Augst. 27th ..	Duwahmerand ...	Do. ...	Guilty ...	Death.
34	...	Rhomeney ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
35	Novr. 27th. .	Manas Romken ...	Rape ...	Not Guilty	
	1767				
36	Febry. 27th ...	John Poole Robt. Sherman Laurence Murray	Assault ...	Not Guilty	
37	May 27th ...	Retty ...	Murder ...	Guilty ...	Death.

APPENDIX—*Contd.*

Serial No.	Date of Prosecution.	Names of Persons tried.	Crime.	Verdict.	Sentence
38		Anthonia Da Costa ...	Assault ..	Pleaded Guilty.	Fined £20 and imprisoned One Month.
39	Augst. 27th ..	Mark Mathewson ...	Felony ...	Guilty Stealing Value 10*d.*	Committed to the Public Gaol for 3 Months to be publicly whipped through the Town Twice, to receive each Time 100 Lashes on his bare Back with a Cat of Nine Tails, and afterwards to be committed to Bridewell to Hard Labour for 6 Months.
	1767				
40	Augst. 27th ...	Saml. Farley. ...	Assault ..	Not Guilty.	
41	Novr. 27th ...	Mathw. Callaghan, Price Trumbull, Walter Powers	Felony ...	Not Guilty.	
42	.....	Ram Gose ...	Murder ...	Do.	
43	.....	Sitteram ...	Do ...	Do.	
	1768				
44	Febry. 27th ...	Emandy ...	Murder ...	Not Guilty	
45	Novr. 27th ...	Wm. Macintosh ...	Assault ...	Guilty ...	Fined £20 Stg., and to find Security for his good Behaviour for 12 Months.

N B.—The preceding Account is conformable to the Order of the Honourable House, so far as the Documents at the East India House will allow—the Proceedings of the Court of quarter sessions at Calcutta for the year 1762 only commencing the 27th August of that year; and there has been no Proceedings of the said Court received of a later Date than the 27th Novr. 1768.

It cannot be ascertained from any Document in the Company's Possession in Europe, which of the Sentences have or have not been carried into Execution, except that passed on Radachurn Metre, who was recommended for Mercy, and afterwards pardoned by His Majesty.

EAST INDIA HOUSE.
3rd March 1788.

R. HUDSON,
Pro. Examr. of India Correspondence.

Narrative of the Campaign in Bengal, 1760—II.[1]

THE troops had scarcely been settled a month in quarters at Patna, when the change which happened in the Government of Fort William, by the removal of Mr. Holwell, and the succession of Mr. Vansittart to the presidency, but more particularly the declining condition of the Nabob's affairs after the death of his son, called for the presence of Colonel Caillaud in Bengal. The Colonel had already presented a plan to the Nabob, and the Council of Fort Wiliam, for the re-establishment of the Nabob's affairs; for the appointing a successor to the vacant command of his army; for discharging the long neglected arrears due to his troops; for their better maintenance in future; and for the more regular and constant payment of the English forces.

This proposal was calculated for the exigency of the times and to be effected with little trouble or disturbance; for the infirm state of the government, rent by intestine divisions and the unaccountable management of the Nabob, rendered still more intolerable by the incapacity and corruption of his Ministers, joined to the precarious tenure by which his own power subsisted, (the will and inclinations only of his distressed, injured, and complaining people) would admit of no violent measures without proceeding to dangerous extremities, and scarce any more at present than a temporary alleviation; but the Colonel's proposal, meeting with some obstacles from the Nabob, and much more opposition from the then Governor and Council, he was at last compelled to leave the army and proceed to Fort William, to solicit that some other speedy remedy might be applied to evils so alarming, and that he might be enabled, if possible, to take the field again early the next season.

When Colonel Caillaud arrived at Moorshedabad, he visited the Nabob, and, at his request, imparted to him the opinion he had formed of his present circumstances. He described to him, without reserve, his unhappy state at home and abroad; the pernicious consequences such a series of bad conduct as had for some time past prevailed, if persevered in, must produce; and he then took occasion to point out to him the means by which he imagined his affairs might best and soonest be restored to their necessary order, to procure power to himself, and content to his subjects. The Nabob, after listening with much

[1] Reprinted from the *Asiatic Annual Register* of 1800—Miscellaneous Tracts—and continued from page 191 of *Bengal Past & Present*, No. 14, Vol. VII.

attention, appeared fully satisfied with the candour, and pleased with the freedom of the Colonel's declarations; and, after assuring him he should consider of his advice, he dismissed him with many professions of kindness and esteem; and the Colonel, having no further business at Moorshedabad, pursued his journey to Fort William. The new Governor and Council of that place had long been impatient for his arrival, to obtain a perfect knowledge of their own and of the Nabob's affairs to the westward, and of the country government in general; a subject they had been long considering, as they were extremely solicitous that some effectual method should be immediately resolved on, to extricate themselves from the ruin in which the Nabob, by his neglect and weakness, seemed to be very near involving both himself and them.

Mr. Vansittart, on his accession to the government, from this one circumstance alone, met with many difficulties to contend against. He found, that the Nabob, since the departure of Colonel Clive, had continued to entertain suspicions highly injurious to the English, to whom, it was evident, he was now only attached by his fears, conscious that by their support alone he could any longer preserve either his life or kingdom. Among the many causes of discontent, the following were not the least, nor the least complained of.

As the Nabob advanced in years, his tyranny increased, and he became insupportable to his subjects, among whom the noblest were discontent and disaffected to the last degree, incessantly engaged in cabal and faction, and restrained only by dread of the English power from deposing him.

The clamours of the soldiers at his capital for their pay were perpetual, and reached even to the palace, which they frequently surrounded, and scaled the walls, to the imminent hazard of his life.

His own forces in the field were in long arrears, and the English troops were obliged to remain unsatisfied.

No appearance either of policy or economy was any longer preserved, or pretended. By neglect of the former, every insignificant Rajah who rented land from this government detained the revenues, or paid them only as he saw there was a force to compel him to it; and the more powerful ones among them were in actual rebellion. By inattention to the latter, what little money came into the treasury was no longer employed to useful purposes, but profusely squandered away in licentious luxury.

The unlimited oppressions and the exorbitant extortions of his Ministers, together with their inhumanity, which extended even to the wanton and unjust deprivation of life, produced an universal odium. Add to this, that people of all degrees hourly exclaimed against the calamities they endured by the want of provisions; the unheeded distractions of the country having caused a scarcity unknown in the worst of former times, and by which the poor suffered inconceivable miseries.

There was no part of the original treaty with the English which the Nabob, on different occasions, had not infringed; and they could no longer pretend to defend his government, or fight his battles, while he no longer confided in their councils, nor contributed to the support of their measures.

By maintaining a constant standing force, they had wholly exhausted themselves; by which means they could neither make an investment of a cargo to send to Europe, nor, what was an object of much greater importance, could they, while such a system prevailed, give the least assistance to the army before Pondicherry, who were then distressed for money to carry on the siege, and who entirely depended upon supplies from Bengal. For a contingency so pressing as this, it was apparently necessary some salutary measures should be thought of; and it was as obvious too, that the English should not permit an occasion like this to escape, of endeavouring to secure something for themselves, as well for present supplies, as a security against future accidents of the like nature. Conformably to these principles, a short time after Colonel Caillaud's arrival a plan was devised, considered, and approved of by the Governor, the Colonel, and the whole Council, from the result of which they proposed safety and advantage both to the Nabob and themselves, and peace and tranquillity to the public. As a previous introduction to the execution of this design, the Governor and Council desired the presence of the Nabob's son-in-law, Cossim Ally Khan, at Fort William, to consult with them on this critical occasion; and the old Nabob consented to their request, and sent him. On his arrival, the sentiments and resolutions of the Governor and Council immediately made known to him; and he was so well convinced, after a few conferences, of the equity and sincerity of their intentions, and so much approved the prudence of their councils, that he at once assented to assist them in the execution of them. After a short stay at Fort William, he returned to his father, to prepare him to receive what he himself had acceded to.

Soon after his departure, Mr. Vansittart the governor, and Col. Caillaud, followed him to Moorshedabad; taking with them an escort of 200 Europeans, and one battalion of sepoys, both for their own protection, and likewise, if occasion required, to enforce that reformation which they were sensible, both for the service and safety of the Nabob, the Company, and for the public utility, it was indispensably requisite to establish. When they had been at the city a few days, the Nabob had a meeting with the Governor and the Colonel, to advise with them for the support of himself and his government, whose strength languished daily, and whose decay was not only prejudicial to himself, but, as their interest had been so long and intimately connected, also to the affairs of the Company.

The Governor, after a friendly introduction, delivered to the Nabob three papers, wherein were displayed, with equal propriety and clearness, the

misfortunes his kingdom laboured under, the precarious dependencies on which he himself retained his authority, every hour insulted, and in danger shortly of being despised and trampled on, thro' the maladministration of Ministers whom he had advanced to this degree of trust and power from being his menial servants. In them were represented the importunate cries of his injured subjects, oppressed by these Ministers, by the confusions of the country, and by famine, and a war which had overrun the kingdom, to the utter ruin of the province of Behar, and which might, but from his own imprudence, have been terminated long ago, but it still continued to rage with more violence than ever, without any more promising prospect of its being put an end to.

The conditions by which these errors might be retrieved, were comprised in a few words.

The absolute removal of his present Ministers was the first point enforced; and, as the Nabob confessed himself, thro' the infirmities of age and grief, incapable of disengaging himself from the perplexities which everywhere embarrassed him, it was recommended to him to fix the administration of the government in the hands of Cossim Ally Khan, his son-in-law, whom he had long before expressed an intention of raising to the honours and dignities of his late son; that the forces should be discharged their arrears; that the people should be eased of their oppressions; and, finally, that certain lands, in the districts nearest to Fort William, should be assigned over to the Company, to disburse the charges of paying their troops, their artillery, and other military expences; and to enable them, also, in some degree to restore the declining commerce of the Company.

The Nabob heard, promised attentively to reflect, and to give an early reply to these articles; but no sooner had he parted from the Governor, than, instead of expressing the least respect for his advice, he instantly entered again into close consultation with his old counsellers how to elude it, and disclosed every thing which had passed between the Governor and himself. The result of this was, that they inspired him with such a hatred and jealousy of his son-in-law, because recommended to him by the English, that Cossim Ally Khan could not any longer think himself secure from his resentment, nor even afterwards ventured to approach his presence. The Nabob also declared, that, could he this time only by any means deceive them, he would trust the English no more, and would take care to be sufficiently guarded against them for the future. In fine, he absolutely refused to consent that the least alteration should be made whatever. There was no other way now remaining, to bring the Nabob to reasonable terms, than by endeavouring to act upon his fears; a measure which his son-in-law very readily espoused. No better or more convenient time could offer than what the next night presented, being the conclusion of a solemn Hindu festival, when every considerable person of

that sect would be fatigued by the tedious performance of their religious ceremonies.

Colonel Caillaud, therefore, as soon as the night approached, marched his troops into the city, where, as had been concerted, he joined Cossim Ally Khan with his forces; and when the dawn appeared, they approached, and entirely surrounded the Nabob's palace, while at the same time detachments were sent to seize the persons of his three Ministers. The Governor, solicitous that no blood should be spilt on this occasion, had sent a letter to the Nabob, by the Colonel's hands, to be delivered at a proper season; in which he laboured to persuade him to acquiesce in those demands which necessity required should be complied with. When the Colonel had drawn up a party of his troops within the court of the palace, he sent in the letter. Upon perusal of it, finding that his Ministers were seized, and that his palace was beset by the English troops, the Nabob burst into the most violent emotions of rage, denounced vengeance upon the English, threatened that he would make what opposition was in his power, and that he would never accede to the terms they demanded of him but with loss of life. However, this start of passion soon subsided, and availed him nothing. After an hour's intent meditation, when his mind had become calm he desired the Colonel might attend him. The Colonel went to him, and was detained a long time by the Nabob, which he employed in urging how vain all resistance must be to him, for in the end he would be compelled to yield; and he was at last convinced that his persisting was to little purpose;—notwithstanding which he remained inflexible; and, instead of assenting, as was hoped and expected, he, in a transport of anger and despondency, threw up every thing in despair, and declared he would from that instant relinquish the government entirely, conditioning only, that security should be given for the preservation of his life. He added, he could have no further concern in the government after an attempt like this, and that he too well knew the disposition of mankind, and of his countrymen, to think of trusting himself near Cossim Ally Khan hereafter, from whom he was convinced his life must be in perpetual danger. To this resolution he firmly adhered; and tho' the Governor came to him, and gave him the strongest assurances that not only his life was safe, but his government also of which he must be truly sensible it was never intended to deprive him, yet he remained fixed in his determination, and only requested that he might be immediately sent down to Fort William, where he wished to reside, under the English protection (for he had lost all other) in privacy and repose.

Upon the Nabob thus renouncing the government, to which no persuasions could recall him, Cossim Ally Khan, his son-in-law, assumed the title and authority of his father, and, as his first act of power, for the service the English had performed, he granted them all the advantages stipulated for the Company.

Every person of consideration in the city came to pay their respects to the new Nabob a few hours after his accession. The populace, of all classes, appeared extremely pleased with this revolution; and the whole city was, the same day, as composed and quiet as if nothing uncommon had happened; nor was there ever, perhaps, so considerable an alteration of so great and extensive a government brought about with less disturbance, or with more apparent satisfaction to a people in general.

The next day, the old Nabob, agreeably to his desire, was sent from the city to Fort William, under a strong escort of Europeans, to protect his person from the insults of the people; and he was permitted to take with him all his private effects, his women, jewels, treasure, and whatever else he thought proper; and he now resides at Fort William, supported by a very considerable income from his son. The happy effects of this event have already been experienced.—Many of the superfluous forces are reduced, by which means the Nabob is able to pay the necessary remainder; many oppressions have been lightened, many grievances reclaimed, and many injuries redressed.

Narrative of MILITARY TRANSACTIONS in BENGAL, in the Year 1761.

(WRITTEN IN MAY 1761).

By the recall of Lieutenant-Colonel Caillaud, who left Patna the last day of December 1760, the command of the army, and the management of Military affairs, devolved on Major Carnac.

At the time of his receiving this charge, the Shah Zadah was in peaceable possession of a considerable part of the province of Behar, and collecting its revenues within a few miles of Patna. His followers were greatly increased, by his having kept his ground so long, and from a kind of veneration which people of all castes have for the Royal Family. The Nabob's troops were almost outrageous on account of the immense arrear due to them. Colonel Caillaud had been necessitated to enter into engagements with them, on the part of the Nabob which the latter did not fulfil; and, as the Colonel was gone, from whom, in consequence of his engagement, they had some hopes of relief, they grew almost desperate. To appease this ferment was the first difficulty the Major had to encounter, and which he found the harder to surmount, as there is no reasoning against hunger; and they really had so much justice on their side, that he could not think of proceeding to extremities with them. He represented to them the necessity of removing from the neighbourhood of Patna; how little their circumstances would be improved by remaining there, yet might be repaired by the fortune of a battle; that by

refusing to accompany him, they must infallibly forfeit all future claim to the Nabob's (their master's) favour, and consequently all the stipend due to them. But this reasoning, tho' evidently calculated for their advantage, as much as the nature of their situation would admit, proved ineffectual.—Finding so little success in this way, and there being an almost absolute necessity of moving towards the Shah Zadah, in order to stop his progress, the Major determined on a march, and was in hopes this step would draw them away also; but being under apprehensions for the city of Patna in case of their continuing behind, he was obliged to leave, for the protection of the city, more sepoys than he could well spare. The event fully justified his expectation: and this single motion effected what all his argument and entreaties had solicited in vain; for, their fears instantly catching the alarm, and dreading the approach of the enemy while the English troops were separated from them, they soon after struck their camp, and followed.

To give them as little time as possible for recollection, the Major marched again the next morning, and continued his route till he arrived very near the enemy: not that he placed the least confidence in their support, or reliance on their attachment; on the contrary, he had so much reason to doubt their fidelity, having a conviction that most, if not all, their jemidars were in actual correspondence with the Shah Zadah, as to be obliged to bestow as great a part of his attention on their motions as on those of that Prince.

Such was his situation when the day long expected arrived that the army were to meet the enemy, who appeared on the 15th of January on the banks of the Soane, a river which runs about three coss west of the city of Behar. Under cover of their cannon, the English forces immediately crossed in the face of and without any opposition from, the enemy, who retired to the distant shelter of some banks and ditches, left a clear passage, and thus missed the fairest opportunity that could have offered, while the troops were divided by the water, to take them at a disadvantage.—Tho' the Major had at first determined to cross, yet his surmise that some treachery might be attempted by the Nabob's troops, confirmed him in his resolution; for, had the enemy attacked him in that situation, as he expected, the intervention of the river would have secured his rear from any ill designs of these suspected allies. When the guns and ammunition had passed the river, the army formed, and hastened to drive the enemy from their intrenchments, which they instantly abandoned, and retreated to another equally tenable with the former, had they been resolute to defend it; but this too they quitted as the army advanced, and were dispossessed also from a third, before they made any stand, and drew up in some order upon the plain. The English still kept moving forwards, cannonading as they marched, and expected the moment the enemy's horse would begin the charge; but a lucky ball from a twelve-pounder

killing the driver of the elephant on which the Shah Zadah was mounted, the beast, deprived of his guide, turned about, and conveyed his rider, with all his attendants of course, into the rear. As the Major perceived some accident had very much disconcerted the enemy, he thought he could never have a more favourable moment: he therefore ordered the line to move up briskly; and, the artillery being served with uncommon activity and success during that juncture the enemy first began to recoil, and presently after turned their backs, and fled in great disorder. While this was transacting, the Nabob's troops were busied in passing the river. The pursuit of the enemy continued about four miles, and deprived them of part of their baggage. When, at length, coming near enough to observe that the French troops brought up, and endeavoured to cover the rear, the Major determined, at all events, to make one push at them, that their escape, at least, might be prevented with the rest. The guns were, therefore, dropped behind under the guard of a battalion of sepoys; and, with the Europeans and the remaining battalions, the Major moved up against the French troops commanded by Mr. Law. The French played six pieces of artillery upon the English as they advanced; but, being levelled too high, the balls passed over them. The English Europeans, much to their credit, marched up to and passed these guns with shouldered arms. The French troops fell into disorder, and broke before any musquetry could reach them; not a shot was fired on the side of the English, nor did they lose a single man. Mr. Law, with 13 or 14 of his officers, were then taken, with the French colours and about 50 men. The remainder, a few days afterwards, surrendered. The fatigue of the English, and the inactivity of the Nabob's troops, who, in spite of the most pressing entreaties, refused, as usual, to pursue, the affair was not so decisive as it might have been had these troops done their duty; and the Prince, with his army, retired in safety beyond Bahar. He was allowed, however, no further respite than was necessary for the relief of the tired people, who followed him the morning immediately succeeding the battle. The Prince moved off with as much expedition as he could, and, taking the high road, by the Ganges side, marched upwards, with intent, as was surmised, to proceed by Patna to the Soane. Quitting, therefore, his track, the English crossed the country, placed themselves between him and Patna, turned him again to the southward, and, persisting to press close upon him, frequently found the fires of his camp still burning; so that, in a very little time, his army retreating through a country they had before laid desolate, was reduced to the utmost distress for subsistence. In this extremity, being deprived of every resource, the Shah Zadah now condescended to propose overtures of an accommodation; and, for this purpose, on the 29th of January 1761, despatched his buckshy Fuzeroolah Cawn, as his ambassador to the Major, to know the conditions he must accede to. But as the Major was not

sufficiently authorised to treat, he chose to wait for full powers from the Presidency, before he engaged in any direct negociation; but insisted, as a preliminary demand, on the immediate dismission of Komgar Cawn, which if the Prince chose to comply with, and would afterwards retire to the Soane, the Major promised to follow him no further than the banks of that river, where he would attend the Council's instruction; that Ramnarrain, the Rajah of Patna, would undertake to subsist him till their answer arrived; and with this reply the ambassador was dismissed. In the interim the marches of the English were rather quickened than delayed, so that on the 2d of February they were near surprising his camp. On their advancing so unexpectedly upon him, he sent back his ambassador, requesting a halt; but as that could by no means be complied with, he again moved off very fast, nor stopped till he had proceeded 12 coss. This precipitate pursuit had the proper effect in accelerating the Prince's acquiescence with the terms proposed to his ambassador, and obliged him to assent even to more than was stipulated; for he not only dismissed Komgar Cawn, but offered to repair, whenever he should be permitted, to the English camp. Reposing so much confidence in them, he accordingly, on the 6th of February, appointed the Major an interview at about two miles distance from the camp, and afterwards paid him a visit at his quarters where it was endeavoured to make him sensible how incapable the English were to act treacherously by him, and that he had nothing to dread on their part, who had much respect for his person, and the illustrious race from which he was descended. In the course of this conference, he appeared so well satisfied of their sincerity and professions, that he declared he had no other reason to allege for wishing to return to his camp the same evening, but to convince his people of the injustice of their suspicions regarding the safety of his person; after which he took his leave. The next morning the Major sent a gentleman to him, and all matters being agreed between them the same day, he confided in the assurances given him for the security of his life, honour, and maintenance, and, on the succeeding day, his camp was united to that of the English. The allowance agreed to be paid him was one thousand rupees per day, to be defrayed by the Nabob.

Having thus far accomplished his aim, the Major's next care was to get the Prince, as soon as he could, to Patna. In consequence of this, he left a detachment of Europeans and sepoys, with all the Nabob's troops, for the preservation of the country about Bahar, and, with the Prince, began his march for the city, which he reached, without anything material occurring during that interval, on the 14th of February. The troops encamped close to the west gate, between the city and the Prince, whose quarters were fixed at Bankypore, three coss west of the town. From that time to the 20th, there

was a daily expectation that the Prince would take up his residence in the city as he had promised, and which he was prevented from by his people, who, being, unacquainted with the manners of the English, and judging of them from the disposition of his own countrymen, concluded he would be cut off. Four or five days were spent in endeavouring to shew the injustice and absurdity of their apprehensions, and to remove them; but, finding it did not succeed, and imagining they might be trifling, and had no real intention to come into the city, the Major was at last reduced to the necessity of acquainting the buckshy, that his master's delay argued a diffidence in him which he had not merited; he was resolved, therefore, not to see the Prince again unless it was in Patna, and, till that time, he would stop all his former allowances. This menace had the desired effect; for the same night he requested, without further hesitation, that his principal eunuch might be admitted into the city, to prepare the apartments for his reception; and, the next day, he made his public entry, accompanied by about 800 Mogul horse, besides his domestics, the utmost care being taken to prevent too many of his people entering with him; and he immediately repaired to the citadel. From the time of the Shah Zada's coming over, and particularly on the first visits paid him in the city, he incessantly solicited to be publicly acknowledged as King of Hindustan, to have the cootbah (or public prayers) read, and money coined in his name; a distinction, he affirmed, would contribute, more than any other circumstance, to promote his cause; for the reputation of support from so powerful a body as the English, would give spirit to his partizans, fix the wavering, and induce many to take up arms in his favour. The scantiness of his allowance was another subject of discontent to him; and as both Mr. M'Guire, the Chief of Patna, and the Major, considered it very inadequate to his wants and dignity, they ventured, on their own authority, to add to it 300 rupees more per day. To convince them of the reasonableness of his expectations, the Prince had on several occasions produced letters from Nujeeb Cawn, the Emir-ul-Omrah; Shujah Dowlah, the Nabob of Oude; and other principal men of the court; tending to shew, that Abdallah, chief of the Afghans, who by his recent victory over the Mahrattas, had made himself master of Delhi, was much in his interests, and seemed disposed to place him upon the throne. But the Council at Fort William did not think it advisable to engage themselves precipitately in his cause, nor till they had further assurances, and he could make it evident he had himself such resources of friends and money as might give a promise of success.

Early in the month of March arrived from Beerboom, accompanied with a body of Europeans under Major Yorke, the Nabob Cossim Ali Cawn, and fixed his camp at Baycuntpoore; at which place Major Carnac went to meet him. At the very first conference, the conversation was introduced, by the Nabob's expressing great apprehensions of the Shah Zadah. Not thinking himself

sufficiently secure with the large force he brought with him, he sent both for Ramnarrain and Rajebullub, commanders of his army, with all their forces, from Bahar. These troops had been directed to remain near the city of Bahar, with a detachment under the command of Captain Champion. Upon their being withdrawn, it was not judged reasonable to leave the English by themselves, in a country so exposed; that detachment was, therefore, recalled likewise. The Nabob, being informed of this, was so much displeased as to mention, publicly in his durbar, the implicit obedience he expected from the English forces; a point the Major presently undeceived him in, by letting him know he should yield no further to his desires or commands than was consistent with the public service and his own honour. At his repeated instances, however, he remanded Captain Champion to his former station. On subsequent visits, the Major fully disclosed to him his sentiments concerning the Shah Zadah, and his opinion on the expediency of the Nabob's paying a visit to the Prince as early as possible. He likewise represented to him the scandal which must result to himself, and the detriment to his affairs, from so considerable an army lying inactive; and that with respect to the English, the expences of their forces was so enormous, they were solicitous a speedy end might be put to the troubles of the country. To this last observation he replied, that the English were bound, by treaty, to assist him with all their troops whenever he chose to demand them; that he might send them to Assam, if he pleased; and that he had furnished them with three provinces to defray their expences. With respect to the Shah Zadah, he appeared little inclined to see him at all, and as little disposed to favour him. But as it was thought it would have a good appearance, and might hereafter be of service to the Nabob's affairs if he preserved a good understanding with the Prince, the Major interested himself very much to this effect, and took uncommon pains to remove the many difficulties the Nabob had started to avoid an interview. But no argument could surmount the suggestions of his fear; and tho' the Major prevailed with him to grant part of his request, yet no persuasion could induce him to trust himself in the kellah, or citadel; and, instead of visiting the Prince, he would only consent to give him a meeting at the English factory.—Agreeably to appointment, on the 12th of March, they met. The highest distinctions were at this conference conferred, by the Shah Zadah, on the Nabob; and he, in return, made the strongest professions of his attachment and allegiance; though there was soon very good reason to doubt of the sincerity of both. The Nabob is now heartily wearied of his guest, and frequently proposes dismissing him with a sum of money; for, as he is sensible of the little share of merit he can himself claim in bringing the Prince over to the English, he is, for that reason, jealous that they may hereafter make use of him against himself. As for the Shah Zadah, now he finds the English are not so sanguine in his cause as he imagined they

would be from the style of some letters he received prior to the battle; and as he has many reasons to be displeased with the Nabob for his suspicions, his neglect, and, above all, that he is so much stinted by him in point of money (for the Nabob will allow him no more than the 1300 rupees per day) scarcely a competence; these reasons, added to the expectations he entertains from Delhi, make him daily more and more anxious to be dismissed. This he solicits from the Major with uncommon earnestness, urging the detriment that will accrue to his affairs if he be detained any longer; and, if the letters he shews are authentic, it is very material he should set out for Delhi immediately, as the least delay may be the utmost prejudice to his cause, and occasion the nobles, for want of him, to set up some other person. The Nabob desires nothing more ardently than the Prince's departure; but the Major has hitherto evaded both their importunities on this point, desirous of the opinion of his own Government in answer to what he has written on the subject, and which he will wait for before he takes any further measures.—Should the Shah Zadah ascend the throne of his ancestors, of which he seems now to have some prospect, and this without either the Nabob or the English contributing anything thereto, they can neither have the least claim to favour from him hereafter The friendship of a Mogul may be immaterial to us, but can never be so to the Nabob, were it only for the sake of securing the royal confirmation to the Subahdarry of these provinces; for, however the Chieftains may take upon them to appoint Nabobs, it is certain, according to the principles and constitution of the Mogul government, no man can have a legal right to be so, but by appointment from the Emperor.

Such has been the happy consequence of the victory of the 15th January, that the hitherto disaffected Zemindars are all disposed to make their submission, and the Nabob expects to be able to settle thoroughly the business of this province without moving further. Komgar Cawn, indeed, owing to the Nabob's indiscretion in withdrawing his forces, attempted to make head again, and ventured from among the hills. He recovered a small fort called Bellara, and had invested the most considerable one in the country, by name Cooserah. The Nabob could not have complained, if he had been suffered to recover the whole country; but it would have disgraced the English troops to suffer an enemy to be acting offensively in their neigbourhood. On this account Captain Champion was ordered in pursuit of him, who encountered him, and, after a smart skirmish, obliged him to retire once more within the mountains.

The Abbate D. Matteo Ripa in Calcutta in 1709—I.[1]

MATTEO RIPA was born on March 29, 1682, at Eboli, Lucania, in the Diocese of Salerno. His mother was Antonia Longa; his father, Gianfilippo Ripa, of the Barons of Planchetella, followed the medical profession. In 1700, Matteo, then a student at Naples, felt a call to a more perfect life. With a view to go to the China Missions, he entered the Collegio Urbano *de Propaganda Fide*, at the end of 1705, together with D. Gennaro Amodei, a Priest of Città di S. Marco in Calabria. In 1707, Pope Clement XI, wishing to honour with the purple Mgr. Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon, his legate in China, appointed 6 Missionaries to bear to him the Cardinal's hat. They were: D. Onorato Funari, D. D., of Tondi, then Parish-priest of S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini in Rome; Padre Guglielmo Fabri Bonjour, an Augustinian of Tolosa; Padre Giuseppe Cerù, of the Clerics Minor of Lucca; Padre D. Domenico Perrone, a Neapolitan; D. Gennaro Amodei, and D. Matteo Ripa.[2] Onorato Funari had already started with the rest, when a stroke of apoplexy made him drop out of the ranks. In January 1708, the 5 Missionaries reached London, disguised as seculars. After being detained about 4 months in the Thames, they sailed from England in the *Donegal* and the *Santa Barbara* on June 4, 1708. Arriving at the Cape on September 6, they left it on the 13th. On December 9, they were within sight of Sumatra; but, scurvy broke out among the crew and passengers, and the Captain of the *three* vessels which had been travelling together made for Bengal by the channel between the Nicobar Islands. On January 22, 1709, they sighted the Coasts of Orissa; but, on account of the shallow water, they arrived before Balasore only on the 26th.

The following interesting account of Ripa's visit to Calcutta, Chandernagore and Bandel in February 1709 is taken from his *Storia della Fondazione della Congregazione e del Collegio de' Cinesi sotto il titolo della Sagra Famiglia di G. C.*, a work in 3 volumes (Napoli, Manfredi, 1832, Tom. I. 197-233), of which the Indian Academy, St. Mary's, Kurseong, possesses a copy. There exists an English abridged translation of it: *Memoirs of Father Ripa, during*

[1] Reprinted from the *Catholic Herald of India*, August 20—September 17, 1913.

[2] Ripa gives their age approximately · Funari, 41 years; Fabri Bonjour, 40y; Cerù and Perrone 36y.—Amodei reached China in 1710 and died at Quanqueu on July 22nd, 1715, not 34 years old yet Cf. *Storia*, III, 448, sqq.—Fr. Bonjour died at Pekin and was buried in the Portuguese or *Cha-la-eul* Cemetery there. Cf. H. CORDIER, *Bibl. Sinica*, II. 1032.

Thirteen Years' Residence at the Court of Peking in the service of the Emperor of China; with an account of the foundation of the College for the Education of young Chinese at Naples. Selected and translated from the Italian, by Fortunato Prandi. London, John Murray, 1844, small 8vo., pp. VIII—160 (No. XV of Murray's *Home and Colonial Library*), reprinted by Wiley and Putnam, New York, 1846. Cf. H. Cordier, *Bibl. Sinica*, 2e ed., Vol. II. 844; 1220. We have not seen this work, and we could have derived but little profit from it. What we present to the reader is not an abridged, but complete translation of Ripa's experiences in Orissa and Bengal.

We possess so few missionary accounts of Bengal in those early days that we cannot value Abbate Ripa's too highly. We trust it will be welcomed by such as are interested both in the origins of Catholic life in Calcutta and in the story of the gradual expansion of our metropolis. Calcutta, two hundred years ago, must have been a very primitive sort of place, indeed, when an Italian spelt its name *Golicatan*; when the *maidán* reached from the then Fort William as far as Portuguese Church, Murghíhátá, and when the great botanical wonder was not the banyan-tree of the Botanical Gardens, but the tamarind-tree of the English cemetery.

[*197*] The twenty-sixth, early in the morning, our Captain sent the boat to land to apprise the Commissary of the Company, who lives in the town of Bellassor, where the French too and the Dutch have their Factors, of the arrival of our ship, and ask him to send the river pilot. Like the London Thames the river is full of sandbanks known only to the pilots who are acquainted with the river. The pilot was to bring the ship safely into harbour and bring with him a good provision of refreshments for the sake of the sick.

With the Captain's leave, our Father Fabri also went in the boat, to recruit his health and find something for Father Perrone, who suffered much from the aforesaid sickness and was resolved [*198*] to stop at Bellassor, until he should have recovered. It proved, however, unnecessary, for the refreshments cured him in a few days. Our boat returned with cows, pigs, goats, fowls, rice, fresh fish, onions, fresh cocoanuts, spinage, lettuce, headed-cabbage (*cavoli cappucci*) brinjals, (*petronciane*),[1] a kind of sweet roots (radishes?), plantains (*plantani*),[2] and sundry other comestibles, all fresh and in abundance. When I saw the cows and goats, I took them for calves and kids, so small were they; but, when, to my great astonishment, I saw their young ones

[1] Pietro della Valle (1616) writes about *brinjals*: "It seems to me to be one of those fruits which are called in good Tuscan *petronciani*, but which by the Lombards are called *melansane*, and by the vulgar at Rome *marignani*, and, if my memory does not deceive me, by the Neapolitans in their patois *molegnane*." Cf. YULE-BURNELL'S *Hobson-Jobson* (1886), s. v. *brinjaul*.

[2] *Platani* are plantains. Further, Ripa calls them "figs."

sucking their mothers' udders, I judged they were goats and cows. Not only have these small goats the size of kids, but their horns are so small as if they had only just sprouted, and the cows have a hump on their back, and their legs are so slender and their feet so small that they look like those of deer rather than of cows.

At noon, there came another boat carrying the river pilots. Our Father Fabri returned with it, and he told us that in Bellassor, which stands on the sea-board, he had found there was a Church of one of their Augustinian Fathers, who was the Missionary of the place, as also of Pipoli and Bangia.[1] He had received him very affectionately and had presented him with two habits of his Order, the cloth being a texture of wild silk and filaments drawn from the bark of certain very white and very pretty trees. To us he sent a big box of biscuits, fresh bread and plantains, a fruit of which I shall speak further. Father Fabri told us also that this Father had said to him there were five hundred Catholic Natives in Bellassor; [*199*] but they were very much scandalised by our Europeans, especially by the Dutch. It is the reason of their tepidity, and of the reluctance of the Heathens in embracing out Holy Religion, while, on the contrary, great good is done inland, where the effects of these scandals are not felt.[2] He added that the Church was of masonry (*di fabbrica*) and pretty; that it was standing in the middle of two gardens, and that both it and some Catholic graves, built in the shape of pyramids, were the best buildings of the country, the houses, commonly consisting of earth, straw, and planks, being low and constructed without order.[3] He gave us also the news that the French Factor had told him that all along that coast there was no ship bound for China; but, there were three of them in Ugli under Catholic captains (*di padroni Cattolici*), which were about to set sail for the Philippine Islands, and, if we went dressed like Ecclesiastics, for we had travelled so far in secular disguise, they would take us in gratis.

[1] It would seem, then, that Pipli and Bangià, two old Christian settlements, already in existence in the third decade of the seventeenth Century, were now merely visited. I discuss the position of these two places in my notes on Manrique.

[2] The reference to the Christians inland points to the conversion of the ryats of Don Antonio do Rozario, son of the Raja of Bhusna (Faridpur Dt.[9]). Don Antonio had himself been converted about 1663, while in captivity at Chittagong. The Bhawal Mission (Nagory, near Dacca) sprang from this movement, and many of our Dacca cooks are the descendants of those native Converts. The episode is one of the most interesting in the history of the Bengal Mission.

[3] No trace now exists of this former church of Balasore. In 1825, the Danish, Dutch, French Portuguese and English factories of Balasore were a mass of ruins. Part of the walls of the old Church was still standing, as if to attest that the place had been visited by Missionaries. The Cyclone of 1832 did away with these relics of the past. As for the old Catholic Cemetery, I have never seen any later allusion to it. Fr. Sapart, who visited the place in 1865, says no trace of the old Mission could be found. Yet, about 1682, Balasore had about 700 adult Christians, and when Fr. P. Martin, S. J, writes from Balasore (January 30th, 1699) that he had been "in charge of more than a thousand Portuguese, who for more than six months were left without their Pastor," we might, think Balasore is intended.

In the evening of the twenty-eighth, the Captain sent the boat again to the shore for a new stock of fresh provisions. In the morning on the thirtieth, they returned with a cargo of it, and, in the afternoon, thanks to the tide, and with the river-pilot on board, we directed our course towards the mouth of the great Ganges river, to go and lie at anchor before the English Factory. That night, as the tide was against us, we cast anchor. Six hours later, the tide was in our favour, but we did not weigh anchor for fear of running against the two sandbanks[1] lying in front of the embouchure of that great river. [*200*] The next morning, however, the first of the month of February, and the eve of Our Lady's Purification, we went on as long as the flow lasted. It helped us to get safely beyond the said two great sandbanks and cast anchor in the mouth of the river. The river is so enormously broad that, to see both sides, one had to go up the main mast. After advancing another six hours with the tide, the river grew more and more narrow, until, to the great satisfaction of all, we could enjoy the sight of the two banks.

On the third, our ship lay the whole night at anchor. At the first break of day, we weighed the anchors, set sail, and reached happily the much longed-for goal of our journey from the Cape to Bengala. This was on the second day of the octave of the Purification of that great Lady who had protected us all through our long and disastrous journey[2]

[*201*] CHAPTER XI. *My arrival in Bengala. My surprise at the ignorance and blindness of the idolatrous natives and of some European Missionaries. Rare qualities of some fruits of those places, which I describe.*

On our arrival at Bengala,[3] notice having been sent to Golicatan by the English Factor residing at Ugli, some English Officials living at Golicatan came in an Indian boat, carrying twelve oars and sails, to take the Captain and the supercargoes, and convey them to Golicatan, where stands the English Factory.[4] We learnt from these gentlemen that the said three ships had to set sail after three days for the Philippine Islands, and that no ship there was

[1] *The Braces*, as they were called from the fact that the depth of the channel had continually, to be ascertained. These long sands ran seaward in the prolongation of the tidal Channel, towards the western side of the embouchure. Cf. YULE, *The Diary of W. Hedges*. III. CCV.

[2] February 3rd, or the morrow of the Purification.

[3] The Italian uses "*in Bengala*" in the title; "*a Bengala*" in the text here.

[4] Golicatan is Calcutta. The origin of the word has not been satisfactorily accounted for yet "Collicata" is another form which I find in a Portuguese letter of 1718. The English from the first, wrote Calcutta; but all manner of spellings are found, even Golgotha.—Notice must have been sent to the English factor of Hugli from Balasore or, rather, from the mouth of the Hugli, by some of the smaller craft plying on the river. What is astonishing is the rapidity with which the news was communicated to Hugli and then to Calcutta. By midnight of February 3—4, the English officials arrived from Calcutta; yet, Ripa's ship had arrived at the Braces only on January 28, in the evening. It is also strange that the news of their arrival should have been sent to Hugli, considering that the English factory was reported as ruinous in December 1687, and the place was shortly after abandoned for "Chuttanuttee." The Calcutta factory must have been more important in 1709 than the Hugli one. "At a league from the Lodge [Chandernagor], there is a big town called Chinchurat where the Dutch and the English of the new Company have each a Comptoir, that of the Dutch is much finer than the English one." *Voyage du Sieur Luillier* (in 1702), p. 65.

bound that year either for China or even for any harbour near it Hence, as I was in good health, I decided to start for those Islands, where I would take ship for China. In the instructions given us by the Sacred Congregation we read that, if all could not embark, one or more, who could, should do so, the others awaiting some suitable opportunity for doing the same. His Holiness had ordered us, too, orally to settle by a plurality of votes any doubts that might arise So, I assembled my companions and laid the matter before them. Though my resolution did not please them, since they would lose my services in their present ailing condition, yet the above instruction ordered but too clearly that he should go who could, [*202*] and, as it was altogether necessary that one at least should go, if the letters to Cardinal de Tournon were to be delivered with care, they made a virtue of necessity, and decided unanimously that I should go and make arrangements for the embarking of two others of them, *viz*., Father Cerù and Fabri These two hoped that fresh food would restore them to health As for Amodei and Perrone, it seemed altogether impossible for them to recover, except after some months, such was the weakness and prostration to which the scurvy had reduced them. Signor Giuseppe Miglioracci, the Florentine merchant in London, who, on instructions received from the Sacred Congregation, had made the arrangements for our voyage, had told us there he had agreed with the Captain that, if his vessel did not go straight to China, he should at his own expense put us on board another ship On this understanding, we spoke to the Captain through an interpreter to know his intention, but, he asked us if we had any paper to prove the point We said no, whereupon he replied that Signor Miglioracci was certainly mistaken. He had never promised him to send us to China at his own expense, in case his ship did not go there Moreover, I may say that, had he agreed to it, he would not have been bound to do so, after having fed us four months on the river at his expense, which he was not obliged to do Considering then that the Captain was right in rejecting our application, and that one of us had not more than twenty pieces of eight,[1] another thirty, another a little more than forty,—a total insufficient to pay our passage even [*203*] up to the Philippines—one may understand how, with no better outlook, we were to be pitied, and to what straits we should have been brought, if our Blessed Lord had not with singular providence provided for us, amply and *usque ad delicias*, from Bengala to Manilla, and again from Manilla to China, as the reader will see, and he may bless the Lord for it and learn therefrom always to put his trust in God's Providence, which never fails those who undertake something for God's service.

[1] The piece or *real* of eight was considered equal to Rs 2 in 1640 Calculations referring to 1679 make out the real of eight or current Spanish dollar to weigh 2⅝ of a new rupee, and to be worth only 2$\frac{1}{16}$ Cf R C TEMPLE. *Streynsham Master*, II, 303 note 1.

ST. ANNE'S CHURCH.
(From Brit. Mus. King's Maps $\frac{\text{CXV}}{40\text{G.}}$)

JOHN STACKHOUSE.
GOVERNOR OF
FORT WILLIAM IN BENGAL.
1732-1733.
DIED 1741.

I then pressed the Captain kindly to give me some place in the boat, that I might go to Golicatan and settle everything for my journey and that of my two other companions on board the three ships going to the Philippine Islands. He excused himself, saying there was not enough room for all—which was true—in the only cabin, or cot of the boat, and he urged me to embark that night, not to lose so good and quick an opportunity of going to the Philippines at once. I begged of him to admit me at least outside the cabin, in the open air, among the common herd (*ciurma*). To this he objected that it was against his dignity and mine; but, as I insisted repeatedly for it as for a favour, alleging our said necessity, he said finally that he did not admit me; still, if I went, he would certainly not drive me away. It was enough for my purpose. About midnight, the tide and the wind being favourable, the boat left, and I who was eagerly on the look-out, for fear of missing my chance, [*204*] got down with the rest and sat down outside [1] After a short time, the Captain and his suite started sleeping, and I too, overcome with fatigue, I fell asleep where I was, in the open air. I had wrapped myself up in my mantle, one from Sassano in Calabria, under which I had stitched my clerical mantle with the intention of unstitching it later, as I did, and making use of it. Luckily for me. That night, it rained without my remarking it, and, when I woke in the morning, I found myself quite wet. Evidently, it might have been enough to cause a serious illness: but, thanks to God, I did not get so much as a cold. Something still more astonishing happened to me later in Tartary. Having had to sleep one night in the open country, the next morning I found ice all around me; but I felt as fresh and healthy as if I had slept comfortably in a warm and downy bed. So true is it that, in cases over which one has no control, the Lord watches over the Missionary toiling for His sake.

On the morning of the fourth, as we were going along the river-bank, where the contrary current had no strength, we passed near a place, where there was Bazar, or market.[2] Here they were selling rice, fruits, dried fish, native

[1] They started at midnight between February 3rd and February 4th. The place where the 3 English ships remained moored was probably Kulpi. On February 1, they h ad got beyond the two sandbanks at the mouth of the river; they advanced six hours with the tide (on February, 2), lay at anchor during the night, and continued on the 3rd to "Bengalla."—"We ascended the river about sixty leagues. For the first twenty we passed through forest, then was revealed a fairly well populated country. The Europeans of different nationalities have fitted up various spots proper to receive the ships. The meeting of the rivers brings together, in different places, a fair number of boats which serve for commerce *Coulpy* is a fairly good anchoring place. The French and English ships usually stay here. The Dutch go up as high as *Folta* [Fulta], five leagues above. The one and the other, as well as the Danes and the Portuguese, when the season and the current permit, take their ships right up along-side their factories." Letter of Fr. Barbier, January 15, 1724, relating his journey to Bengal in 1712 Cf *Bengal: Past and Present*, 1910, or *Lettr. Edif*, 1781, XIII. 267.

[2] The places mentioned by Ripa as along the river on the return journey from Calcutta are Poncicali, Raspar or Giorg-Crux, and Palta [Fulta]. There was "bazar" at each place where they passed. Ripa adds, "Markets are held very often in those parts, even daily, but now in one place, then in another." Thus, Ripa's *bazar* may have been a fair.

sweetmeats, seeds, grass (*herbe*), cloth, etc. The concourse of the country-folk was extraordinary, and it was curious indeed to see running here and there among them sundry troupes of singers and musicians playing instruments I had never seen before. Their music was so hideous that our captain was forced to call to order and silence a troupe of them, [***205***] who, thinking they would amuse us and show us honour, had entered knee-deep into the river and come close to our boat.

Afterwards, it happened that, as I was all alone in a corner of the boat, and reciting the Divine office—all five of us, we had covered our breviary with a white cover to make it look like an ordinary book and hide from the Heretics what we were doing, since we were disguised as seculars, as I said above—it happened, I say, that someone asked me from behind in Portuguese, "Sir, are you a Priest?"[1] I looked round, and saw the speaker was an Indian boy between fourteen and fifteen years old. He continued to say I was a Priest, and, as I could not deny the truth, neither ought I to reveal it, being still among those Heretics, though they had conjectured it all along from London, I answered him with a scolding. The clever young fellow, understanding my reason for dissimulating, then told me not to be afraid of him. He said he was a Catholic Roman (*Catholico Romano,*) the son of the Captain (*Padrone*) of the boat, his father being however a Pagan. He made the sign of the cross to prove that he had spoken true: his name, he said, was Andrea, and he offered himself for any service, and gave other proofs of his sincerity, so that I could not doubt he was really a Catholic, as he maintained. I then thought it was not perchance that this boy should have recognised me as a Priest, but that a special providence of God had put him in my way to make him guide me in those distant and unknown countries. My confidence grew into certainty later, when our boat arrived at the landing-place, from where we had [***206***] to go on to Golicatan.[2] The Captain and the other Englishmen went off and left me alone in the boat, without even wishing me good-bye. Not knowing whither or to whom to turn for a shelter against the approaching night, I learned from the said boy that there was in Golicatan a hospice of the Augustinian Fathers. I had a letter of recommendation to them from their General. So I asked the boy to give me a guide who would show me the way to the hospice of the Fathers.

Andrea very kindly gave me one of those native boatmen to conduct me to the hospice: but, as they beat him with sticks to make him consent, this

[1] In Italian, "V[estra] S[ignoria]." The Portuguese words would have been *Vossa Senhoria* or *Vossa Mercé*, the latter being the common polite form of address.

[2] The landing-place must have been far down the river, since it took Abbate Ripa about 8 hours' walking to get to old Fort William. At this landing-place so many ships, big and small, lay congregated that Ripa, when meeting with difficulties on his march to Calcutta, thought that, had he retraced his steps, he could not have found back Andrea's boat.

man, after having gone some distance, began shouting, "Ciabi! Ciabi!" that is, "Church! Church!"[1] and after this ridiculous performance, he turned to me, saying, "Don't you see there is nobody?" The distance was not short, as I imagined; it was very long rather; that was the reason why this man was unwilling to take me further at this hour, when the sky was getting dark.[2] Guessing his thought, and not wishing to expose myself by night to some danger under such a guide, I went back to Andrea, who substituted another boatman, a Moor by religion. This one did even worse. After going about 3 quarters of an hour, when we came to the top of a high hill (*alto colle*), he began shouting east and west, "Oh Papà, Papà!"[3] Perhaps he wanted to say, "Oh Padre, Padre," meaning the Augustinian Father. Then, turning to me, he said in his language, which I did not understand, some words which from his gestures [*207*] I concluded to mean that the Padre I wanted was not there. Hereupon, he turned his back upon me and was going off in another direction. To tell the truth, I was in a bad fix on that occasion. I thought that if I turned back, now that it was night, I might very easily lose my way, the road being unbeaten, winding and intricate. Even if I found it, it would be very difficult among so many ships, big and small, and with my ignorance of the language, to find back Andrea's boat. On the other hand, if I continued to go forward I would not know at all where to go. In this desperate situation, I plucked up courage, raised my tone, uttered threats, and it pleased God in His divine mercy that the Moor should get so frightened as to signify with most humble gestures, and words to me unintelligible, that he would continue to accompany me as far as the Church. I ordered him then by signs to go ahead, for I wanted to remain behind lest he should run away. Promptly he obeyed, and it was amusing to see him continually look back towards me, and, fearing that I might give him some sword-cut, he begged of me through his mimicry to pardon him. As for me, though I had made an effort to look bold and brave, I was so much afraid he might knock me down with a stone that my legs shook so badly that I could hardly hold on my feet, and, if he had shown any inclination to offer resistance, I had made up my mind to run away quickly.

[1] The only meaning for *Ciabi* which we can think of is key-*chábí*. The word is chiefly used in Bengal (FORBES' *Hindust. Dict.*) and is probably derived from the Portuguese *cháve*-key. But why should the fellow have shouted "*Chiabi*," and that in the open country? A ridiculous performance, indeed. I fancy the word for *Church* would have been *girja*, a corruption of the Portuguese *igréja*.

[2] The sun sets at Calcutta at 5-39 on February 4.

[3] The Portuguese word *Padre* was adopted very early by the natives as a term of address for a European missionary. I have not met *Papa* used in this sense in India. Badáoní (Blochmann's *Ain*, I. 182) uses the word as applied to the Pope, in which sense, it meant originally *Father*. Perhaps the explanation is that *pápá* and *bábá* are both used in Hindustání for "father, sir," though the latter means also *child* in Bengal (Forbes' *Hindust. Dict.*)

[*208*] After having walked some time, and always by moonlight, on that hill, [1] we entered a long country-road, with a green hedge on both sides: in those parts under the Torrid Zone, the whole ground and the trees are green the whole year: it is like a perpetual Spring, so much so that, nervous, tired, and hungry as I was, I could not but enjoy that delightful verdure. Next, we took other paths and about two o'clock at night, I emerged with my guide into inhabited parts.[2] Quite happy at the thought of having at last reached the Church or hospice of the Augustinians, I found myself in the midst of some soldiers on guard at the gate of a big building, which I heard later was the English Factory.[3] It was built in the shape of a fortess and defended by big cannon. I got very much frightened, thinking my guide had betrayed me, and my fear grew all the greater when, after he (the guide) had spoken some time in his own language with the soldiers, one of them turned to me and said in Portuguese, "Senhor Padre, what do you want?"[4] Hearing myself addressed as Padre, I was still further confirmed in my fear of some treachery; but, taking courage, I said I was a passenger from the English ships, and that, having a letter to give to the Augustinian Fathers, I wanted to find out their Church and get from them a lodging for the night. The soldier then told me that it was far and the hour was late; still, if I wished by all means to go further, he took it upon himself to [*209*] make that boatman show me the way, and he confessed to me that he was no longer a Heretic, but a Catholic Roman. In fact, when I told him that I wanted at any cost to go on, he charged the boatman to guide me, and gave me his word for it that I could proceed without any fear.

Across very pleasant fields again, I directed my steps with the said guide towards the hospice of the Augustinian Fathers, and, after a very long but

[1] Capt. E. M. Thompson, I A., the officer in charge of the Map Record and Issue Office, Survey of India, writes in answer to my enquiries (Aug 13, 1913): "Maps in this Office do not show any ground of high eminence between this city and Diamond Harbour. If a hill or hillock did exist, it would be shown and it seems to me the more probable therefore that the "hill" referred to was merely high land which may have impressed your traveller with the idea that it was a hill.

"I have examined all the Heights of Bench marks along the river Hooghly between Kidderpore and Mud Point, but no indications of high land are shown. Fort Falta is measured along the bank as being 31-1 miles from Kidderpore and it would seem that in the vicinity of this Fort your traveller must have landed." I should think Ripa had disembarked somewhere about Budge-Budge.

[2] Ripa seems to have had no difficulty is passing Tolly's Nullah. Probably, there was some sort of a bridge.

[3] "The next morning," writes Luillier, who passed near Calcutta in 1702, "we passed by the English Factory belonging to the old Company, which they call Golgonthe, and is a handsome Building, to which they were adding stately warehouses." Cf. *Voyage du Sieur Luillier aux Grandes Indes*, Paris 1705, p. 55.

"The actual site of the fort was the ground now occupied by the General Post Office, the new Government Offices, the Custom House, and the East Indian Railway House. The warehouses built along the south side of the fort skirted Koila Ghat Street. The north side was in Fairlie Place. The east front looked out on Clive Street and Dalhousie Square, which in those days was known as the Lál Bágh, or the Park." Cf. C. R WILSON, *Old Fort William in Bengal*, London, 1906, I. XX—XXI.

[4] The soldier who addressed Ripa was probably a Topás, or half-caste Portuguese in the English service.

refreshing trudge in the cool night air, I arrived at last, as I judged from some distance by the structure of the gate. I dismissed the Moor, and was now left alone before the gate of the hospice.[1]

I can find no words to express my consolation, when, after such a long journey, I found himself before that Church. Let the reader then imagine it for himself, while I describe only the new danger and trouble I had now to face. I knocked at the door; but, to start knocking was like giving the signal to the dogs in the neighbourhood for barking and howling: one after another, they came running up and made a big circle around me. At this unexpected juncture, I gave myself up for lost at first; then, put upon my mettle, I drew myself up with my back against the wall, and with my sword in its scabbard in one hand, I defended myself against those beasts, frightening them and beating off their attempts to jump upon me. The barking of the dogs, more than the pushing I did at the door with my other hand, succeeded in awakening some boys in the service of that old, deaf-like-a-post Augustinian Padre. They asked me from inside who was knocking, and what I wanted. [*210*] When they heard it was a Missionary who was bringing from Rome a letter from the Father General, and that I wanted lodgings for the night, I had plenty of trouble to induce them to take the news to that Father. Finally they went, but brought back the answer that I must come the next morning. I said I was a stranger and did not know of any inn; that I was in imminent danger of being devoured by those dogs; and that, if they were afraid of me, they might lock me up in the Church, or Sacristy, or anywhere they preferred, provided they saved me from my present danger, those dogs being on the point of jumping upon me. They should consider that I was a poor Priest, who begged of them to save his life, etc. When I had said whatever I knew and could say, they were convinced by my reasons and moved to pity by my begging, and they opened the door, but on the understanding that I should not say a word about it the next morning to the aforesaid Augustinian Father, or else he might give them such a drubbing.

At last the door opened, and the boys led me to the Church. Here, safe at last, after so many dangers, I prostrated myself humbly before the high Altar,[2] and with all the fervour of my heart rendered due thanks to God. The boys, edified and touched at the same time by my conduct, begged pardon of me, and compassionated me with the most affectionate and tender expressions of pity. They would have wished to give me a better place for the night, but they pleaded their fear of the Father's stick. I, who

[1] The soldier said the distance from the Fort to the Augustinian Church was long, and Ripa repeats that it was a long trudge. I cannot, however, understand that the Church should have been elsewhere than in Portuguese Church Street, Murghíhátá. I hope to discuss and prove this point some other day.

[2] Since there was a High Altar, the Church would seem to have had two side-aisles.

had amply obtained what I wanted, thanked them for their affection, [*211*] and declared myself quite pleased and satisfied with their sympathy alone. The boys were very much surprised when, on their asking me how I would pass the night in that Church, I told them I would sleep quite comfortably on a catafalque which I saw in a corner. They asked me, too, how I would manage to protect myself without a curtain against the venomous stings of the mosquitoes, which swarm in those parts. I answered that I would cover myself cosily with my Sassano or shagreen (*Zigrino*) mantle, the very thing for a vapour-bath in those hot countries. And so I did at once, the moment they had locked me up in the Church. Hungry as I was, I felt so tired that I fell asleep at once, protected by my mantle. In the morning, I got up quite fit and without a single mosquito bite. You must know that those mosquitoes are so many and so much bigger and mischievous than ours that two young English gentlemen of our ship, having come on land some days afterwards, and having slept only one night at Golicatan without protecting themselves against these insects, had their face so swollen and changed, when they came to see me, that I did not recognise them until I heard them speak and learnt their name and surname.

I presented the General's letter to that Augustinian Father, a deaf old man, and ignorant in the superlative degree; but, he was very edifying, and this is a quality wanted more than any other in the Missionaries of those countries, where licentiousness is so rife. The good Father took the letter and, not understanding Latin very well, [*212*] he pretended to read it. He would have liked to make out at least the Father General's signature to know his name and surname. As if he had understood the rest of it, he turned to me, and underlining the signature with one of his fingers, "Here's the devil," he said. "Read, please." As if he meant to say that he had deciphered all the contents of the letter with the exception of the signature only. I read it then, and told him the name and surname of the Father General; but, more foolishly than before, he asked me whether that was the Father General or the Father Generalissimo. Having regard for his simplicity, and to gain my point, I fell in with his absurdity and said, "That is the Father Generalissimo." My answer pleased his Paternity, and he invited me to dinner that morning. It was the first time after a year that I had the happiness of saying Mass in that church. I said it in thanksgiving to God for having brought me safe into that harbour after so many dangers. The Epistle gave me much consolation, for Saint Paul seemed to tell me personally, "*For see your vocation, brethren, that there are not many wise according to the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble: but the foolish things of the world hath God chosen, that He may confound the wise; and the weak things of the world hath God chosen, that He may confound the strong. And the base things of the world, and*

the things that are contemptible hath God chosen, and things that are not, that He might bring to nought things that are : that no flesh should glory in His sight.''[1] With this Epistle the Lord placed before my eyes the sublimity of my vocation and [*213*] the many strong reasons I had for debasing myself in His sight and that of men.

After my Mass and my thanksgiving, I went at once to negotiate my passage to Manilla. As luck would have it, I met on the road the Captain of the Gudop,[2] which was to sail for the Philippines. He was a Frenchman named Monsieur la Clocle.[3] He was being carried along, after the manner of the country, on the shoulders of two Indians, and lay stretched in a hammock tied at both ends of a Bamboo, a reed of those parts. Some of these are so big as to serve as beams, and so strong that they use them as pegs (*chiodi*). This gentleman, on hearing my request about embarking with two companions, turned back at once, and conducted me to the house of Signor Bernabì,[4] an Irishman, for whom the ship was taking in cargo. I had but to expose my request to him to get a free passage and board for three. Straightway, I wrote from their very house to give the news to the other companions whom I had left in the ship. After breakfasting with these gentlemen,[5] I returned to the Augustinian Father to answer his invitation for dinner. Behold then the providence of Almighty God! When we were hard up for money, we were amply provided with whatever was necessary to get to Manilla : and there our Blessed Lord provided for us even more lavishly. In the afternoon,[6] I returned to Signor Bernabì's, and he told me that the Augustinian Father [214] had come to him to know if it was true that I had been sent by Saint Peter, and that, knowing his silliness, he had told him yes; whereupon, the Father had asked again whether I was sent by Saint Peter himself, to which he had said, "Yes, by Saint Peter himself.''[7] That's how the good simple Father conceived such a very high opinion of me that he kept me in his hospice, and treated me very well for eating and sleeping, and he would not accept even a *quattrino*[8] in return.

[*To be continued.*]

H. HOSTEN, S. J.

[1] This is part of the epistle of the Mass in honour of St Agatha, Febr. 5. (I Cor. I, 26-30).
[2] Good Hope?—Ripa had picked up very little English on the way.
[3] Perhaps: la Cloche, a misreading by the editor of Ripa's *Storia*
[4] Probably: Barnaby. I have not come across his name, though I have searched a number of books on old Calcutta.
[5] The Augustinian did not invite Ripa, a very hungry man, for *chhoṭi hâziri* or breakfast! He invited him only for dinner.
[6] Dinner appears then to have been taken at noon.
[7] It would be too absurd to suppose that the Augustinian did not mean the Pope. Ripa seems to represent him as a bit too foolish. We may credit the old man with some facetiousness.
[8] ¼ of a *soldo* or sou. "*A pice*" would be the local expression.

Some Records Relating to the Origin of the late Presidency Jail.

TOWARDS the close of the year 1913 the subject of the origin of "the main building" of the now slowly disappearing Presidency Jail was keenly debated in the columns of the *Statesman*, and incidentally the question of the place of Nuncomar's [Nanda Kumar's] final place of imprisonment was also discussed. The pages of *Bengal Past & Present* are open to any readers who may care to restart the controversy. In the meanwhile the following documents are published in order to facilitate such a discussion.

I.

Extract from Long's Selections.

No. 961. Proceedings, Dec. 21, 1767.—Agreeably to your orders, I have visited the prisons under my charge, the one in Loll Bazar[1] is very clear and wholesome, only wants a separate apartment for women to make it convenient.

That in Burra Bazar is a confined bad place, and must occasion as much sickness, but as there is room in the other for all the prisoners, I have ordered them there; this prison will hold from 4 to 500, and the number confined now is 220. * * * * * *

Court of Jemedary [Zamindari]. NICHOLAS GRUEBAR.[2]
5th December 1867.

II.

Extract from The Trial of Maha Rajah Nundocomar, Bahader, for Forgery. Published by Authority of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal. London, 1776, p. 91.

A.—I do not remember that I visited him (Nuncomar) in gaol.

(Question repeated).

A.—The gaol is in the same street with the cutcherry[3]. I went to the gaol one day.

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[1] For the early history of the Lal Bazar Prison see Wilson: *Old Fort William in Bengal.*

[2] The name is Grueber.

[3] See Sterndale: *Historical Account of the Calcutta Collectorate*, p. 31. The Cutcherry stood in Lall Bazar between the old Play House and the Jails, and to north of what is now called the Old or Mission Church.

III.

Extract from the Examination of the Deputy Sheriff by the Supreme Council. 8th May, 1775. Forrest: Selections. Vol. II, p. 369.

Q.—Does the warrant order you to send him to the common Jail?

A.—I apprehend that by the warrant expressing him [Nuncomar] to be charged with felony he could be confined in no other place than the common Jail, and the warrant being itself directed to the Keeper of His Majesty's Prison as well as to the Sheriff.

Q.—As you conceive from the warrant that you were to commit him to the common Jail, why did you ask the Justices their opinion where he should be confined?

A.—I did not ask the Justices their opinion, but when Mr. Jarrett stated no objection, I should, of course, have ordered him to be conveyed to the common Jail there being no other public place of confinement belonging to the Sheriff.

IV.

Extract of a letter from Richard Barwell to Miss Mary Barwell, 17th May, 1775.

In this state Matters rested from the 22nd April to the 4th or 5th Instant and in the interval a charge of forgery against Nun Comar which had been long in suspense, was brought forward and the witnesses so pointed that he was committed for Felony on the 5th or 6th Instant. It will scarcely be believed that under such circumstances that General Clavering & his party would have interfered to check the course of Justice by an attempt to remove the Criminal from the Country Gaol, to which effect they addressed the Judges, alledging they were influenced by a Principle of Humanity to interpose in behalf of Nun Comar as they understood from a sincere and true Piety and regard to the Tenets of his Religion being a Hindoo, he had refused all sustenance and could not nor would not take any aliment while continued under confinement in the common Prison, and in the same Letter affirmed a Right to interpose, when the operation of the Judicature proved oppressive to the Natives, saying that all the subjects of the Dewanny Government were peculiarly placed under their Protection as the Council of State and it was their Duty to extend such Protection to them when they applied for Relief, under any species of oppression, and that the Judicial Powers of the Supreme Court of Justice in their operation upon Hindoo Natives attached to the severe Tenets of their Religion might, under many Circumstances and in particular Cases, be grievously oppressive; that they conceived it to be so in the present instance and proposed that Nun Comar should return to his own House over which a Guard should be placed, or have apartments assigned him in the Fort under a Military

Guard. The Chief Justice &c. replyed that it was a mere pretext used by Nun Comar; that the restraint under which they had put him would not as he pretended deprive him of his Cast; that they had taken the opinions of the Religious and found the Laws of the Shasta declare any contamination from his confinement was to be removed by some trifling oblations without any Prejudice to his Sect or Religious Principles—that as to the alternatives proposed it was not in the Power of the Judges to resign the Civil authority into the hands of the Military by releasing Nun Comar from Prison and intrusting his Person to a Guard of Soldiers—concluding with this Remark that if Nun Comar['s] Religion was a sufficient plea in Bar to his Commitment, every Hindoo of his, or of a superior Sect, were perpetually exempted and could not be made amenable to their Judicature. Nothing could be so absurd as this application to the Judges upon such ground—for if General Clavering &c. had only enquired whether Hindoos were usually committed to and confined in Prison on Judicial Processes, they would have found it to have prevailed ever since Calcutta had existed, and that Bramins of a far higher Sect than Nun Comar had suffered close Imprisonment for years. The Judges, however, to avoid the appearance of severity, have alloted Nun Comar the best apartments in Gaol, permit him daily to repair under charge of the Gaoler to his Tent erected just without side the walls to perform the offices of Religion and to eat his Food. This Interposition of the Council General with the Judges, as might naturally be supposed, caused much speculation and gave rise to various conjectures and surmises which received additional force from the General, Col. Monson and Mr. Francis sending two or three times every day to Prison to inquire after Nun Comar's Health and the gentlemen in their Families frequently visiting him in his confinements—not only this, but Lady Anne Monson, Mrs. Clavering and the Miss Claverings sending their Compliments and Inquiries after his Health—a practice so unusual and so extraordinary in this Country, that I am not surprized it should create a Rumour of its being the intention of the Council General to remove Nun Comar from the Gaol by Force if the Judges could not be otherwise prevailed on to remit his Confinement —this Report is just touched on in one of the Chief Justice's Letters and treated as an idle Rumour by him, but it is taken up in a high Tone (by the General and his party), the Majority of the Council General who reflect on the Chief Justice charging him directly with having allowed such an aspersion to have had weight with him and declaring on Oath, God knows how truly, that they never heard an Item of such a Rumour, until they read of it in his Letter. What they may have heard I cannot say but I declare upon my Honour that for these ten days past in most Companies I have frequently heard it was a Question whether General Clavering &c., would not use force, if other means failed, to remove Nun Commar from the Country Prison. Nor is this to be wondered at

taking all circumstances into your View, for on the Monday following his commitment, which was on Saturday night preceding the Council General sent for the Sheriff and the Deputy Sheriff and the Keeper of the Prison, and examined them severally touching the confinement of Nun Commar, and then addressed the judges to remit it. the further countenance of sending every two or three hours to enquire after and compliment Nun Comar, and the General and Col. Monson enjoining their Ladies to do the same, and the Gentlemen of their Families visiting him, and they publickly declaring their Patronage of Nun Comar—I say, taking all these circumstances together, is it to be wondered at, that strange Rumours prevail, and that all Degrees of Men are in suspense and know not what lengths the Majority of the Council General will proceed? The Native Inhabitants are strangely startled, so much so, that it will not surprize me, if these arts deter the Evidence and save Nun Comar from the ruin which hangs over him.

V.

Extract of Letter of Council at Fort William to the Court,

25th May, 1778.

The repeated representations made to us by the late and present Sheriff of the ruinous state of the Town Gaol, and the necessity of either giving it substantial repairs or erecting a new one, confirmed by the opinion of our Chief Engineer, have obliged us to take the necessary measures for providing another place of confinement for the security of the prisoners. The latter expedient appearing from the different estimates, which were laid before us, to be the most eligible, we determined that a new prison should be built by contract, and accordingly advertised for proposals to undertake it agreeably to a plan and conditions, which were fixed on and published for that purpose.

VI.

Extract of Letter of Council at Fort William to the Court,

30th November 1778.

As you have been informed of the terms on which the contractor for building a new Jail has undertaken the construction of that work, it is incumbent on us to mention that, upon a representation made by the Chief Engineer that the ground appropriated for the building is much too confined for the purpose, as well as inconvenient to the inhabitants of Calcutta, and recommending its removal to a place at a greater distance from the town, we have been under the necessity of allowing the Contractor an augmentation of ten per cent. to the stipulated sum for which he has engaged to erect the building. * * * * * *

VII.

Extract from Hicky's Gazette, April 28th 1781.

Altho' the securing of the French inhabitants of Chandernagore, in consequence of the flagrant breach of public faith committed by those of Pondicherry, is in the general opinion a prudent and a necessary measure, and altho' in which they are occupied (highly exceptionable as is the plan of it) certainly affords them more spacious and airy accommodations than any other in which they could have been kept, either in the Fort or near Calcutta, yet as it was built for a common Jail (it not hitherto used as such).[1] * * * * *

VIII.

Letter of Herbert Harris to the Governor-General in Council, 5th July 1781.

Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,—I request you will be pleased to give Orders that the new Gaol be delivered over to me that the Prisoners may be removed as soon as possible from the old one, which is in too ruinous a state to be longer occupied in safety.

I beg leave to represent to the Hon'ble Board that the Jemautdars Guard of thirty-five Sepoys the number at present allotted are insufficient for the due guarding of the new Gaol, which being of much greater Extent than the old one, will require full as many more. A guard room without the Door will be also necessary for the Accommodation of the Sepoys.

I have, etc.,
HERBERT HARRIS,
Sheriff.

IX.

Report of Thomas Mott, Superintendent of Police, to J. Hare, Sheriff of Calcutta.

The Sergeant who commands the guard at the Hurranbarry having represented to me the ruinous state of that prison and that he was apprehensive the prisoners confined there might escape, I went to examine it, and found the wall to the eastward of the tank quite broken down, and the rest of the wall in the north-west and south in such a condition as to require a total repair, if not to be rebuilt. I reported the same to the Honorable Governor-General, who instructed me to lay the matter before you;

[1] For the use of "the new building lately erected for a Jail" see "Chandernagore Papers," *Bengal Past & Present.* Vol. VI pp. 25 *et seq.*

X.

Letter of J. Hare, Sheriff of Calcutta to the Governor-General in Council, dated 18th April, 1782.

I consider it my duty to represent to your Honorable Board that a building having been lately erected and committed to my charge by the Honorable Company for the reception and confinement of criminals and debtors, I have been enjoined by an order of the Supreme Court of Judicature to remove their such prisoners as at present occupy the old gaol. But as the state of the new is inadequate to the safety of the public peace and that personal security to me which the responsibility of my office renders an object of moment, I have from necessity forborn obedience to the precept till I have represented my situation to your Honorable Board, and prayed that it might be taken into consideration. Previous to my taking this liberty, I have requested an able surveyor and architect to examine the state of the new Gaol, and to furnish me with proper information how to render it complete for the purpose of its design. He has, in consequence, represented the indispensable necessity of erecting a wall so secure in the foundation and height as to preclude the possibility of a prisoner's escape by undermining the foundation or climbing over the summit of it; and, as the section he has made appears satisfactory to me, I take the liberty of enclosing it for the information of your Honorable Board, praying, if it should appear that the Board will be pleased to issue their orders for its execution before the rains set in, the whole of the old Gaol being now in a state extremely decayed and dangerous, and the apartment appropriated to the Gaoler totally uninhabitable.

I have taken the liberty to enclose for the information of your Honorable Board an official application I have received from the Superintendent of Police representing the state of the Hurrenburry, or House of Correction, which is also, for want of better accommodation, in part occupied by the prisoners under my charge.

XI.

To the Hon'ble

WARREN HASTINGS, Esqr,

Governor-General and Council.

GENTLEMEN,—The Expense of building a plain Brick Wall to surround the new Jail of the dimensions specified in the Plan transmited to me on the 26th inst. will amount to forty eight thousand two hundred and seventy four

Arcot Rupees nine annas, on a supposition that thirty two Arcot Rupees is allowed for every hundred Cubic Feet which I consider to be nearly the true prime cost.

At the time that I received the Boards order to build the present compound Wall, I took into consideration how far a high Wall would contribute to the more effectual securing of the Prisoners confined in the Jail and was persuaded that a Wall of eleven Feet high would be as great a bar to an escape as one of double that height because no Prisoner could get over either without assistance or connivance from without; a Bamboo or rope Ladder would afford the same certain means to get over a Wall of twenty feet high as one of eleven Feet.

It is from the number and watchfullness of the sentries joined to the strict observance of proper Regulations for the Prison that security can be expected, and I am convinced that the new high wall which is proposed to be built at about twelve Feet distant from the present one, will instead of adding to the security rather tend to produce less Watchfullness in the Seapoys and afford new means for the Planing of Escapes among the Prisoners.

If the number and attention of the Seapoys Posted on the outside of the present Wall are not deemed a sufficient Security a strong Pallisade of nine Feet high may be fixed within the Compound at the distance of about ten or twelve feet from the surrounding Wall and an additional Line of Sentries placed within this Space which would in my opinion effectually prevent Escapes, as every transaction within the Yard would be open to their View, and being compleatly separated from those Posted on the outside no Collusion can be expected: such is the Mode which I presume to offer to your consideration is best adapted for effectually Securing the Prisoners.

FORT WILLIAM
29th April 1782.

I am with great respect
Gentlemen etc.
HENRY WATSON.

P.S.—The Expense of such a Pallisade would amount to about eight thousand Arcot Rupees.

XII.

The Nature of the Work and particular Quality of the Materials to be used in Building the Wall round the New Gaol, according to the Plan and Section approved by the Honorable the Governor General and Council.

The Wall to be built with eleven Inch-Bricks completely burnt.

The Cement for the Wall to be composed of the best Chunam Red Soorkey and Sand in the preparing of which the following Proportions are to be used Viz. One Ferrah or Measure of fine sifted Chunam, One of fine screened

Soorkey and one of clean red-Sand or one Ferrah of sifted Chunam to two of Clean sand as may be proper in the Different Parts of the Foundation and Wall.

Those Different proportions of Mortar are each to be well mixed together and thoroughly beat the day before it is used, when it is again to be well tempered and three Seers of good Jaggry dissolved in water are then to be added to every Ferrah of Chunam—which is throughout understood to contain one Maund. The whole of the wall on both sides to be built and plaistered in imitation of stone work.

The Plaister to be composed of one Ferrah of fine sifted Chunam and one Ferrah of clean red Sand: The whole to be incorporated well together, and beat and tempered for three days before it is used: at the latter tempering three Seers of good Jaggry dissolved in water is to be added to each Ferrah of Chunam. This Plaister is to be laid on in the best Manner, and the whole of the Work to be compleated substantially and under the Direction of such Person as the Hon'ble the Governor General and Council may be pleased to appoint for that Purpose.

Estimate of the Expence of building a New Wall round the Gaol according to the plan and section approved by the Honorable the Governor General & Council.

150858 solid Feet of Brick-Work Materials. Plaistering & Workmanship @ 36 Rupees p °/₀ Feet	54,308-14
Excavating the Foundation 6 Feet in Breadth 5 Feet in Depth and 1972 Feet in Length 6 by 5 is 30 square Feet by $\frac{1972}{59160}$ @ 2 Rupees p °/₀	1,183-3-3
	55,492-1-3

J. HARE, *Sheriff.*

XIII.

To the Hon'ble WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General* & MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

HON'BLE SIR & SIRS,

I am respectfully to acknowledge the Receipt of a Letter from your Secretary, intimating your Hon'ble Board's opinion that a Number of Sentries stationed round the old Wall of the Gaol, will be the best security against the Escape of the Prisoners, and forbidding me to take any further Measures for the Construction of a new Wall.

The Pains I have taken to investigate the Duties of my Office, and to discharge them faithfully, encourage & allow me the Liberty of trespassing on the Board, while I presume to explain the Impossibility of my Submission to this Mode of securing the Prisoners.

In this effort I must according to the context of the 131 of his present Majesty, and his Majesty's Charter of Justice for these Provinces, consider the Office here, analogous to the Office of Sheriff in England, and consequently that I am liable to the Penalties of it. The Prisoners at present under my charge are confined for Debts in the Gross exceeding 15 Lacks of Rupees, for the whole of which my person and fortune are liable in case of their Escape. The same constitution of England which has burthened the Sheriff with this heavy Responsibility, has provided a Remedy there, to compel the Security of the Gaol, by a public imposition on the country. That remedy does not by a positive Institution exist in this country, where the Government is different; But the East India Company being compelled by Act of Parliament, to provide such Expences attending the administration of Justice, as occurred to the Legislature, it is no more than a natural deduction, that they are to provide a secure Gaol among the Rest, as without it neither the Rights of Individuals, nor the Peace of Society at large could be preserved, and every penal Provision would become nugatory; and although no specific Provision appears to have been made for it the Penetration and Justice of the Company have by a long acquiescence almost enlarged this claim to a prescriptive Right. But waiving that Question, I must resort to some Observations, which I am sure will have equal Weight. Your hon'ble Board have been pleased to resolve that a military Guard will be the best Security against the Escape of the Prisoners. Thus the Reputation, the Fortune & the Person of the Sheriff would rest on the precarious Vigilance and Fidelity of a Military Guard, over whom he has no Control nor the Shadow of an immediate Influence. It would indeed require an extensive confidence, to suppose that the Thousandth Part of the amount of the Prisoners' Debts, wch. Fraction is 1500 Rupees, would be insufficient to command the friendly Disposition of an indigent Native Soldier, naturally unaffected to the European Character, unacquainted with European Ties, insensible to the authority and inattentive to the orders of all but his immediate Military Superior and possessed withal of a superstitious Mind, which might deem it a Virtue to relieve the Danger or terminate the Disgrace of a Native of a higher Cast. The consequences entailed upon the Sheriff, would be a consideration of little Moment if it were ever to occur. Besides, Confusion and Disturbances must arise in a Gaol so crowded with different Ranks and governed by different Powers. There would be daily Quarrels between the Guards and the Prisoners, extending perhaps to the commanding Officer and the Sheriff. The Doors of the Gaol would be ever at

the Command of the Officer, and a Dozen Prisoners might escape in the Sepoys' habits at the Relief of the Evening Guard. The Authority of the Sheriff and Gaolers would be ineffective and contemptible, and the whole order of the Civil Power reduced (*illegible*) the subordinate and ridiculous. Two Remedies may occur to your hon'ble Board for a cure of these Evils, either that the Company should invest the Sheriff with a local Command over this extensive Guard, or indemnify him from all Escapes and the consequences of the alteration which the Board have proposed in the Civil Establishment. Unfortunately they are both, even in Conjunction, incompetent, and for these Reasons. By accepting or exercising this Command the Guards would become my Agents or Gaolers, and although the Company's Indemnity might ease my pecuniary Responsibility, nevertheless one Act of Infidelity in my Guards productive of an Escape, would under two existing Statutes, subject me to an Indictment for Felony. Thus Hon'ble Sir and Sirs you will perceive that the Company's Indemnity would operate but partially, and any interference with the Guard dangerously; The one would protect me from the consequences of a civil Prosecution, the other eventually incur the coercion of a criminal one. A sad Reflection it is that I am at this Moment subject to the latter for my Disobedience to the order of the Supreme Court, directing the Sheriff to remove the Prisoners to the New-Gaol! But while the Duty of my Office and Humanity itself impel me to an obedience which would according to the Spirit of the Order, relieve the present miserable Situation of the Prisoners, I must reluctantly repel the Influence, while I implore & await the confirmation of the Hon'ble Board's Permission to secure the Gaol in the ordinary Manner; observing, and that upon the best authority, that the old Wall is altogether useless, it's Height is no more that 11 Feet, and its Foundation extending only 1 Ft. 8 Inches under Ground it is incapable of being elevated, and might be undermined by one Prisoner and the Escape of the whole effected in two Hours.

As to the Dimensions of the wall I have had the honor to submit to the Board, it's Elevation being considerably under the Height of that surrounding the King's Bench-Prison in England, forms a sufficient Proof of my Wish to submit to an economical Disbursement from the Company; and respecting the Propriety of the Estimate, it depending entirely on the Dimensions of the wall and the Nature of the Materials and Workmanship. I was minute in my description of them and believe my Estimate to be nearly a literal copy of a former one tendered by the present able Chief Engineer to the Board of Inspection on a similar Occasion. The charge being 36 Arcot Rupees per 100 Solid Feet, and according to the best of the Skill and Judgment of the Chief Engineer there is no one article of Expense in his Calculation wch. will not absolutely be incurred by any Contractor who employs good Materials. I flatter myself the Board will approve my having consulted so competent an

Authority previous to the formation of my Estimate, and my close adherence to so respectable an example. I determined inviolably on that Measure, notwithstanding I am subject to some Hardships which might have justified a Deviation. On Account of the present Improvements in the Settlement by the Destruction of the Straw Houses and the necessary Demands of Materials to erect brick ones, these Materials bear an advanced Price: The Article of Chunam has risen 10 per cent within this last Month. I am obliged likewise by Reason of the remote situation of the New Gaol, to transport the Materials at a great Distance from the Water Tide and am moreover from the present dangerous state of the Old Gaol, and the early approach of the Rains compelled to excute the Business entirely on two Months. Nevertheless as to the Height of the Wall and the Terms of my Estimate, although I am conscious of having regulated my Proposals according to the real Dictates of my Judgment, I am by no means so tenacious of it, as to object to the opinion of the Company's Architect; on the contrary it is my wish that it should be procured if your hon'ble Board should conceive it necessary, and particularly so that he may be desired to inspect the Materials and Workmanship of the Wall I am constructing. Perhaps it may be proper to intimate, that as soon as it is compleated, I purpose to remove to the New Gaol all the Prisoners now confined in the Godowns at Kidderpore, as that Distance from Calcutta is very inconvenient, and the Company subject to an annual charge of 3,000 Arcot Rupees for their Rent, which will then cease.

I am concerned to review the extraordinary Prolixity of this address and to withdraw so much of your Hon'ble Board's attention from & other important subjects, but when you perceive Gentlemen that my all of Fortune, Reputation, Personal Liberty are involved in the question and lie at your Mercy, I must persuade myself that your Judgment will acquit me of a disrespectful Trespass, and your Justice accord me the Protection I may be entitled to.

I have the Honor to be, Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,
With infinite Respect, etc.,
J. HARE,
Sheriff.

FORT WILLIAM;
May 4th 1782.

XIV.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General*, &C., MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

Hon'ble Sir, and Sirs,—In my Address to your Hon'ble Board under Date the 18th April last, reporting the State of the several Prisons under my Charge,

I took the Liberty of inclosing an Official Application, which I had received from the Superintendant of the Police, representing "That the Wall surrounding the House of Correction had on the East Side fallen down, and that the Rest of it on the North, West and South Sides required a total Repair if not to be rebuilt."

Your Hon'ble Board were pleased to authorize me in Consequence to put the Whole into proper Repair, and I surveyed it accordingly with this Intention; what remains of this Wall is cutchah-built of Mud, and it is so old and decayed at present that the Bricks crumble at the Touch, and in some Places it is reduced to the Thickness of a single Brick, with many Breaches which will admit the Hand entirely through them: this being the case, I measured the Extent of the Inclosure in order to build a new Wall, not apprehending that on Account of the irregular outline of the Ground, a new Wall of the Height only of 13 Feet, would require 45, 960 solid Feet of Brick-Work, and incur an Expence to the Company of 16,545 Ar. Rs. During this attendance at the Prison with the Superintendant of the Police, we were confounded by the alternate complaints and Lamentations of the Keeper, the Serjeant of the Guard and the Prisoners, all of whose Houses are in the same State of Decay, and daily during the present Rains have been several Inches under Water: so that had I erected a new Wall, a further Expence of 8 or 9 Thousand Rupees would have still remained, and swelled the Disbursement to 25 Thousand merely to put this Prison in tenantable Repair. I flatter myself that your hon'ble Board will not be displeased at my Hesitation under these Circumstances, and will allow me to lay before you a Measure which upon a mature Consideration, they have induced me to frame.

The Inconvenience and Danger of Public Gaols in the Centre of a Metropolis, have been long the Subject of humane speculation and Censure in Europe; the Public Voice in all, and the Legislaure itself in many Instances, have condemned and removed them, and the object has repeatedly inspired very noble efforts of charitable contribution. From the Stagnate Nature and putrid Tendency of this Climate the general Argument has a redoubled Force here, and it has been an Object therefore of the Supreme Board, among the late many salutary Regulations which have contributed to the Healthiness of the Settlement, to rebuild the great Public Gaol at a convenient Distance from it The present Situation of the House of Correction appropriate to the Reception of the most indigent Vagrants, is in the very heart of the Town, and a severe remaining nuisance in it! I trust therefore as it is under my charge, your Hon'ble Board will countenance my Representation, and encourage my Efforts to remove this Nusance by your Protection and Support; the more so, as I will proceed to demonstrate how it may be done, with an Expence only equal to the Repairs I have mentioned.

In Order to lay this subject at one View before your Hon'ble Board, I have procured from an able Architect, a Plan for a complete House of Correction, which I inclose for the Inspection of the Board together with an Elevation of the Buildings, and a correct Estimate of the Charge they will incur: the whole amounting to Ar. Rs. 47,085-4. This Prison I humbly propose to erect to the Eastward of the New-Gaol at Bereegy:* and as the scite of the Old Gaol and the present House of Correction will be no longer of any public utility, I wish to have your Hon'ble Board's Orders to dispose of them, being confident that the Produce of that sale if properly attended to, added to the same Supply which is required to repair the House of Correction, would produce the sum I have mentioned, and enable me to erect a new one, in the completest Manner, and according to the Plan wch. is inclosed. Should your Hon'ble Board consider me too sanguine in this assertion and that I may delude myself and ultimately the Company into an Error by these Estimates, I can only offer to take the Risque upon myself, to complete the whole in the best Manner possible and subject withal to the Inspection of the Company's Architect; by which Measure the Company will be secured against any further Expence for a long Term of Years, the Board will co-operate with it's general Efforts of salutary Improvement the Prisoners will be removed into a Situation more congenial to Humanity and the Inhabitants of the Settlement will rejoice in the Removal of a dreadful Nuisance. As the superintendant of the Police participates my charge in the House of Correction, and bears Testimony to my Report of it, I consider it expedient to consult him upon the Propriety of my present Representation; He has authorized me to express respectfully his strongest wishes that it may be approved by the Board, particularly as he has been long desirous that the Prisoners should be employed in some Labor within the Gaol, which the area of the inclosed Plan is calculated commodiously to admit, although it has hitherto from the circumscribed crowded & irregular space of the Hurrumbarry been found impracticable.

It only remains for me faithfully to assure your Hon'ble Board that the Terms of the inclosed Estimate and the description of the Workmanship which is prefixed to it, are exactly the same as nearly as Circumstances will admit, with those of the Company's Chief Engineer, which having withstood the Scrutiny, have received the Sanction of the Board of Inspection.

I have only to add Sirs, that rather than a Measure of so temporary and important a Nature should be delayed a Day on Account of the present Exigencies of the Treasury, I will defray the whole Charges myself and rest satisfied with the Company's Reimbursement at a more convenient Season—and I shall confide in your Hon'ble Board's issuing Orders accordingly.

* Dihi Birjee.

Upon the Subject at large I avail with Deference the Board's Commands, and have the Honor to be, etc.

FORT WILLIAM:
August 20th; 1782.

J. HARE,
Sheriff.

XV.

An Account of the work and particular Quality of the Materials to be used in building a new House of Correction according to the Plan and Section herewith submitted to the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council.

The whole to be built with eleven-Inch Bricks completely burnt. The Buildings and Wall to be of the several Heights and Lengths specified in the above Plan and Section.

The Cement for the whole to be composed of the best chunam Red-Soorkey and Red-Sand, in the preparing of which the following Proportion are to be used viz. One Ferrah or Measure of fine sifted-chunam One Ferrah or Measure of fine Screened-Soorkey and One Ferrah or Measure of clean Red-Sand. These different Proportions of Mortar are all to be well mixed together and thoroughly beat the Day before it is used, when it is again to be well tempered, and 3 Seers of good dry Jaggry dissolved in Water are then to be added to every Ferrah of Chunam wch. is throughout understood to contain one Maund. The walls to be built and plaistered in Imitation of stone work, the Plaister for both sides to be composed of one Ferrah of Fine sifted chunam or one Ferrah of clean Red-Sand; the whole to be well incorporated together, and thoroughly beat and tempered for 3 days before it is used; at the last tempering 3 Seers of good dry Jaggry dissolved in water is to be added to each Ferrah of Chunam. This Plaister is to be laid on in the best Manner, or fine coal of chunam is to cover the Plaister.

The Locks and Hinges for the Doors are to be the best and strongest which can be procured in Calcutta.

The Beams, Doors and Windows, are to be painted of any Color directed by the Company's Agent. The whole to be completed in the best, most substantial and Workmanlike Manner possible, and under the Direction of the Company's Archetect or such other Person as the Board may be pleased to appoint.

FORT WILLIAM:
August 20th 1782.

Estimate of the Expence of Building a House of Correction according to the Plan submitted to the Hon'ble the Supreme Council.

	Rs.	As.	P.
78,643 Solid feet 9 in. of Brick-work, Materials, Plaistering and workmanship @ 36 Rs. p. °/o Feet	28,311	12	0
7,200 Solid Feet of Brick Flooring @ 40 Rs. p. °/o Feet	2,880	0	0
7,200 Superficial Feet of Plain Roofing workmanship @ 20 Rs. p. °/o Superficial Feet ...	1,440	0	0
156 Timbers ... ... @ 20-8	3,198	0	0
5,754 Two Feet Tiles @ 10 Rs. p. °/o... ..	575	0	0
7,200 Superficial Feet of Terrassing complete @ 40 Rs. p. °/o Superficial Feet	2,880	0	0
94-3 Iron-Workmanship for barring 10 Large Windows to the Bottom each 10 Feet by 6-94 Cu. 3 qr. @ 25 Rs.	2,368	12	0
94 Cwt. 3 qrs. Iron at Crs. 15-12 per Cwt. ...	1,382	0	0
Allowance for Charcoal in working the above Iron @ 5 Rs. per Cwt.	473	12	0
Steps and Stairs for the House @ all the Buildings	500	0	0
Gate	300	0	0
7 Doors @ 60 Rs.	420	0	0
16 Windows for the Keepers House Painting, and all material @ 60 Rs.	1,600	0	0
6 Large Padlocks ... @ 6 Rs.	36	0	0
Filling 3 Doors 10 Feet by 6 with Large Square top't Nails	120	0	0
Tank 100 Feet by 60 and 20 Feet deep ...	600	0	0
FORT WILLIAM,	47,085	4	0
August 20th 1782.			
Of wch. Payable from the Company	25,000	0	0
Commission allowed—15 per cent.	7,062	8	0
Amount of the Bonds Ar. Rs. ...	32,062	8	0

J. HARE,
Sheriff.

XVI.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQR., *Governor-General*, &CA.
COUNCIL OF REVENUE AT FORT WILLIAM.

HON'BLE SIR, & SIRS,—In Obedience to your Orders transmitted to us by your Secretary, we directed the Collector for the Town of Calcutta to measure the Ground occupied by the Horronburry, he has informed us that it contains 4 Begahs 13 Cattahs, according to the Value of Ground in such Situation it is estimated at 200 Sicca Rupees P. Cottah; the Amount of the whole will be 18,600 Rupees.

Rev. Commee.

We are with Respect., etc.,
J. SHORE.
CR. CROFTES.

CALCUTTA
25th November 1782.

XVII.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General*, &CA.
MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM.

HON'BLE SIR & SIRS,—We had the honor to lay before you a Report of the Collector of the Town of Calcutta regarding the quantity and value of the the Ground now occupied by the House of Correction called the Herringberry, in this Report the value of the Ground was estimated at 200 Sicca Rupees P. Cottah which from a consideration of half the Ground being covered by a deep Tank we are of opinion is too high from which circumstances we beg leave to observe that the quantity of the whole Ground including the Tank would be fairly valued at 150 Sicca Rupees P. Cottah.

In reply to your Secretarys Letter of yesterday's date we have the honor to acquaint you that for similar reasons we consider the value of the Ground occupied by the old Jail should be estimated at the same rate and the whole consists of nearly 2 Bigahs and 11 Cottahs including the Tank & other broken ground.

We have the honor, etc.,
SAML. CHARTERS.
CR. CROFTES.

FORT WILLIAM:
The 20th December 1782.

XVIII.

TO THE HONOURABLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL, &C., &C., &C.

SIRS,—The new Gaol being ready for the Reception of Prisoners, and the old one in a State likely to endanger the Lives of the unfortunate confined there, You will be pleased, (when you shall see meet and approve) to issue such Orders, as may enable me to make the necessary Removal.

I presume further to inform you the Propriety of whitewashing the Inside of the New Prison, and that there are, & have been for some time, six french Prisoners therein. I have the Honour to be, with the most profound Repect,

Sirs, etc.,

CALCUTTA: *27th Febry.* 1783.

JEREH. CHURCH, *Sheriff.*

XIX.

JAMES PETER AURIOL ESQR., *Secry*, FORT WILLIAM.

SIR,—In Conformity with your letter of the 17th Ultimo, I have the Honor to enclose a special Bond for Performance of Mr. Hare's Agreement for Building a new Harronbarry at Bereegy[1] executed by myself and by Mr. Henry Scott as Security.

I am Sir, etc.,

CALCUTTA: *The 1st March* 1783.

JOHN PRINSEP.

XX.

Extract from the Public Proceedings of the Governor-General and Council, 5th April 1783.

Mr. Hare, the late Sheriff having received our orders to repair the Hurronbarry or House of Correction in Calcutta, at the same time,—we authorised him to erect a proper wall round the New Jail, reported to us the decayed state of the buildings and wall which required a thorough repair, that he estimated the expence at 25,000 rupees. At the same time he proposed the erection of the New Jail and adjoining to it, by which a nuisance would be removed from the centre of the town, and a more durable accommodation established in its room, as he offered to repair the old one, and to receive the sum in Company's interest notes, provided that the ground of the Old Gaol and the Old Hurronbarry should be given up to him, which, upon a valuation made by the Committee of Revenue was reported, at 150 rupees per cotta, to be worth Sicca Rupees 21,600, and this proposal appearing to the Governor-General to be an eligible one, * * * * *

XXI.

TO WILLIAM BUSHBY, ESQ., *Secretary* TO THE HONBLE THE BOARD OF INSPECTION.

SIR,—The Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council having referred an Account of the Ballance due to me in Consequence of their Orders to build a new Wall round the Gaol, to the Board of Inspection where that Business did

[1] Dihi Birjee.

not originate, it is proper as I am obliged to leave Bengal, to make you acquainted with some Particulars of it, which are known only to the Secretary to the General Department, who issued those Orders to me.

Being apprized of an Account delivered into your Board in the Year 1778 by the Chief Engineer specifying the Disbursement actually incurred by 100 Solid Feet of Brick Work, of the best Materials and Workmanship, amounting to 36 Ar. Rs. P. °/₀ and that the Hon'ble Board investigated & approved that Account: I desired Mr. Lyon to draw out for me an Estimate of my proposed Work, which he accordingly did: this Estimate was formed upon the Chief-Engineer's, and included the Amount of the Disbursement and Commission allowed by the Board upon it of 15 P. cent., making in the whole Ar. Rs. 41-6a.-5p. instead of 36 Ar. Rs. P. 100 Solid Feet and 15 per cent. commission wch. are equal to it. This original Estimate the Ground Work of my Proposal is inclosed No. 1—Previous to my delivering it into the Board, I was told it was the official Practice of the Chief Engineer never to consolidate the Disbursement & Commission, in his Estimate,—but to confine it to the former only, and when his work was finished to charge his Commission upon the amount of his approved Estimate. This will appear by the inclosed Papers No. 2 & 3 the former being a Copy of one of his Estimates as delivered to the Board, (from wch. mine was transcribed) the other an attested Copy of his Bill for making the Compound of the New Gaol, charging the Brick Work 36 Ar. Rs. and an advance upon this disbursement of 15 P. cent—In the same Form as my account before the Board. To mark more strongly my Caution and uniformity in this Transaction I beg Leave to mention that when the Board in the general Department took the Subject of my first Letter into their Consideration, Mr. Auriol the Secretary at my particular Request favored me with an immediate Intimation of their Pleasure, ordering me to deliver in an Estimate, I returned on the same Paper an answer importing that my Terms would necessarily be regulated by the Price allowed by the Board for the former Wall built by the Chief-Engineer, this reaching Mr. Auriol before the Council rose, he mentioned it there, and wrote me in Pencil on the same Note *that it was agreed to:* this original Voucher is likewise inclosed, No. 4.

If you should inspect Sir the remaining Paper inclosed No. 5 you will find it to be a copy of the Chief Engineer's Estimate of 100 Feet of Brick, and that the collateral Memorandums in my M. S. S. contain the Price paid for the Materials employed in the Company's Work executed by me, and I declare the account to be a faithful one.

I am Sir, etc.,

J. HARE.

FORT WILLIAM:
April 22nd 1783.

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XXII.

Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes. Vol. I. P. 292.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 11TH, 1788. Plan of a Lottery submitted to the Public, consisting of six valuable prizes * * * * * *

SECOND PRIZE.

A Piece of Ground known by the name of Hurring Berry, immediately adjoining the north of the Bazar, in front of the Public Road leading to Chitpore, comprehending four biggahs and thirteen cottahs of ground, on which there are thirty pucka Godowns erected on the east side for a General Grain market, valued at 39,000.

History of the Calcutta Madrassa.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MADRASSA AND OBJECTS OF ITS FOUNDATION.

THE earliest educational institution established by the Hon'ble East India Company for the education of the people of this country is the Calcutta Madrassa, and the earliest record regarding the Calcutta Madrassa is a Minute by Warren Hastings, dated the 17th April 1781.*

In this he informs the Board that in September 1780 he had been waited upon by certain Mussulmans of "credit and learning," who begged that advantage be taken of the presence of one Mujeed-ood-deen, a stranger among them, who was known to be possessed of considerable erudition, to open a school for "the instruction of young students in Mahomedan Law and in such other Sciences as are taught in the Mahomedan Schools, for which he was represented to be uncommonly qualified." The petitioners said that such an institution was required for training candidates for "the numerous offices of the Government, which required men of improved abilities to fill," and particularly as "care had been occasionally observed to select men of the first eminence in the Science of jurisprudence as Judges in the Criminal, and Assessors in the Civil, Courts of Judicature." Lastly, the petitioners alleged as a reason for going to the Governor-General "the belief which generally prevailed that men so accomplished usually met with a distinguished reception from himself," an allusion to his patronage of letters, the bare truthfulness of which removes from it all appearance of compliment or flattery. Accordingly, Mujeed-ood-deen was engaged in October 1780, and set up a school, the expenses of which were paid out of the Governor General's private purse. At first a house had to be hired, and the monthly cost was for :—

Preceptor (Mujeed-ood-deen)	Rs.	300
40 Scholars from 7 to 5 Rs.	,,	222
Sweeper	,,	3
House-rent	,,	100
TOTAL	Rs.	625

* For the full text of the Minute, see Public Consultations, 17th April 1781, No. 6, reproduced in Appendix A.

Subsequently Warren Hastings purchased a piece of ground for the erection of a suitable building "near the Baitakhanah" in a quarter of the town called Paddapookur for sicca Rupees 5,641. He continued defraying the cost of the establishment from October 1780 till April 1781 when he brought to the notice of the Board the measures which he had adopted for providing a nursery of Muhammadan Law Officers and Judges for the service of the Government. It was then (April 1781) that he proposed that Government should take upon itself the further support of the Madrassa and that on the land purchased by him in "Puddopookur" a house should be built at an aggregate expense of Rs. 51,000. Although these proposals were approved by the Board and recommended by them to the Court of Directors, no assignment from the Public Revenue for the maintenance of the Madrassa was ordered till April 1782, down to which period Warren Hastings kept it up at his private cost. In that year he submitted to the Board* an account of the money thus disbursed by him, and obtained an order on the Treasury for Rs. 15,251 for its repayment, with Rs. 5,641 for the land taken up for the "Mudrussa Buildings." The Board at the same time ordered the appropriation of the rents of lands in certain mouzahs in the 24-Pergannahs, amounting to Rs. 1,200 per mensem for the future maintenance of the Madrassa and reported their proceedings to the Court in the following extract, Public Despatch, dated 15th July 1782:—"20. The Madrassa or College for the promotion of oriental learning which was established by our resolution of the 18th April 1781, having been placed upon a proper and regular footing and the buildings for that purpose completed we have assigned the revenue of certain villages in the neighbourhood, amounting to Rs. 1,200 per mensem for its support and have no doubt that it will be found fully to answer the end of its institution."

In the year 1785 in which Warren Hastings retired from Bengal he wrote another Minute† in which he enters into a further exposition of the purposes for which he had founded the Madrassa. It had, he says, been deemed expedient on maxims of sound policy to continue the administration of the Criminal Courts of Judicature and many of the most important branches of the Police in the hands of Mahomedan Officers. But, for the due fulfilment of the duties attached to them, not only natural talent but also considerable attainments in the Persian and Arabic languages, and an extensive knowledge of the complicated system of laws founded on the tenets of the Mahomedan religion, were required; and this species of learning had for sometime past been on the decline. "Since the management of the revenue

* See Public Consultations Nos. 2-3, June 3, 1782, reproduced in full in Appendix B.

† For the full text of the Minute, see Revenue Consultations 21st January 1785 reproduced in Appendix C.

has been taken into our own hands, it has chiefly been carried on by the English servants of the Company, and by the Hindoos, who, from their education and habits of diligence and frugality possess great advantages over the Mahomedans in all affairs of finance and account." With the decay of the wealth and importance of Mahomedan families in the province, became diminished year by year their means of giving their sons the education which fitted them for responsible and lucrative offices in the state. To restore the chances in their favour, the Governor-General, after establishing the Madrassa, had obtained the consent of the Board to alienate the rents of certain mouzahs in the 24-Pergunnahs from the general revenues, for appropriation towards the perpetual maintenance of the institution and its endowment forever. The lands themselves were placed under the direct management of the 24-Pergunnahs; but the Governor General did not approve of the arrangement, and he proposed:—

(1) That a sunnud of towleat or guardianship to the establishment, with the lands annexed to it, be issued in the name of the present Superior "Mahomed Shey-du-deen"* to continue during the pleasure of Government, the succession to be at the disposal of the Governor-General in Council.

(2) That the lands appropriated for the maintenance of the Madrassa be delivered over to the charge of the said Superior or Guardian, and their jumma separated from the public revenue.

(3) That all charges on account of the Madrassa be defrayed by the Superior in consideration of his obtaining the lands, and that the Committee [of Revenue] be not required to incur further charges on this account.

(4) That the Superior submit to the Committee of Revenue a monthly report of the number of pupils and the salaries paid to them.

(5) And that a member of the Committee of Revenue visit the Madrassa every three months or oftener, to see that every thing is in order.

To all these suggestions the Board agreed, and moreover directed that a recommendation be addressed to the Naib Nazim,† that on the occurrence of vacancies in the fouzdarry courts, they should be filled up by students of the Madrassa who had obtained certificates of qualification.

The Committee therefore placed the collections of the mahal under the immediate supervision of the Superior, Mujeed-ood-deen, and instructed the Collector accordingly.‡

MADRASSA MAHAL.

Madrassa Mahal is frequently mentioned in the early records regarding the Madrassa, and it is worth while enquiring whether, as the name

* A mistake for Mujeed-ood-deen.

† Then Mahammad Reza Khan

‡ Revenue Consultations, 19th Aug. 1785, No. 92, (Cons. 3rd).

implies, any such endowment as Warren Hastings really contemplated ever took place. There is the clearest evidence to show that both the Governor-General and the Members of the Government at the time fully intended that the Madrassa should derive its revenues directly from land, and that, in some way or other not absolutely defined by any of them, the appropriation of such land should be an inalienable investment. But this purpose was never carried out, and the Madrassa Mahal, except for a few years that it continued under the management of the head Moulvi, long ceased to have any connexion with the institution. The following particulars are obtained from a Minute* written in 1819 by Mr. Salmon, then Member of the Board of Revenue, after a diligent search among the records of the Board's office. As already mentioned, Warren Hastings, in April 1781, laid before his colleagu es a plan for the establishment of a "Seminary of Mahomedan literature," and immediately after the Committee of Revenue were, at his instance, moved to mark off certain lands in the pergunnah of Calcutta, which were to be set aside for the support of the institution, and were on that account to be left out in the settlement of the whole pergunnah. The list of these lands comprised "53 mouzahs and kis-"muts of the khas mehals of the pergunnah Calcutta, and detailed the jumma "of each, exhibiting a total of rupees 36,028 (leaving out fractions) whereof "rupees 29,142 were actual or forthcoming assets and the remainder either hope-"less or doubtful." The Committee ordered that "these lands be struck out "of the khas mehal of Calcutta Pergunnah, that a reduction of the said "jumma being rupees 29,142 be made in the jumma of the farm, and that "Mr. Touchet (the Collector) be directed to send some person to take charge "of the revenue of these lands until the Governor-General in Council shall "have passed some order respecting them." But no order appears until June 1782, when the then Secretary, Mr. J. P. Auriol writes thus to the Committee of Revenue: "A Mudrassa or College for the study of the Mahomedan Laws and Sciences having been established by the Hon'ble the Governor-General with the authority of the Board, I am directed to signify the same to you to deliver over to your charge the kowallahs taken from the persons from whom the several parcels of land have been purchased on which the College is erected, and to convey to you the orders of the Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council that you assign the rents of one or more mouzahs or villages in the neighbourhood of the place for meeting the expense of this establishment amounting 1,200 sicca rupees per month, and regulate the mode of collection and payment of the same in such manner as to fix and ascertain the amount and period of receipt, and prevent any future abuses of one or misappropriation of the other. This revenue is to be applied to the support of the College from the 1st instant," [June 1782.]

* Revenue Consultations, 23rd July 1819, Nos. 11-22.

Mr. Salmon's narrative here breaks off, for the next incident he mentions is in 1790, omitting the orders recited before, almost the last of his administration, issued in 1785 by Warren Hastings for placing the Madrassa Mahal under the direct management of the Superior. The arrangement was found to be so unsatisfactory within three years that it had to be set aside.* Maulvie Mujeed-ood-deen was not a man of business, so far as the supervision of a landed estate was concerned, and the revenue collections fell off considerably. An "Ameen" was appointed to look after them. This officer elsewhere called Mootawallee, seems to have possessed extensive functions, besides the control and supervision of the Madrassa property. He was charged with the preservation of the discipline of the College; he had a material voice in regulating admissions; he had the power of granting leave; in fact, his authority always independent of the teachers, left them but scant respect in the eyes of their pupils except during the hours of actual instruction. The management proved a failure, financial as well as administrative. The collections did not improve, although the lands were let out to farm; and the preceptor and his pupils could not obtain their salaries. The divided government was found inconsistent with order, and John Shore (afterwards Baron Teignmouth), then President of the Board of Revenue, was obliged to deprive the Ameen of his office, and assume the control of the money affairs of the institution into his own hands, leaving its interior economy to the preceptor.

Mr. Salmon's account may now be resumed. According to him, in consequence of the proved incapacity of the preceptor and ameen (or "sezawul" as he is here called) to manage the estate, the Board of Revenue in 1790 recommended that it should be re-annexed to the Collectorship of 24-Perganas; that the Collector should ascertain what jumma it might be equitable to fix on the lands, and that they should then be sold subject to such assessment, and "that the amount of such assessed revenue should be appropriated to the use of the Mudrussa." The Government agreed, but at the same time said that "the jumma of the lands being appropriated in this manner, it was not necessary to include it in the account settlement of the district, but that the revenue be remitted as it may be received to the Sub-Treasurer for the benefit of the Mudrussa." No assessment took place, but the Madrassa Mahal seems to have been under direct management until 1795, when Raja Iswar Chandra Roy, Zeminder of Nuddea, asserted his claim to the proprietary right of the Madrassa lands. A special enquiry was instituted, the result of which was that, in 1800, they were made over to him at an annual Government rental of Rs. 24,870. Neither in 1795, when the Raja asserted his title to the Madrassa lands, nor in 1800, when they were

* Revenue Consultations, 23rd January 1788.

transferred to him, was any application made to Government respecting the funds of the institution "which had undergone so many alterations and ultimately alienations"; and since 1800, as Mr. Salmon says, it received an allowance from the Treasury exclusively as a "money pension from the Government."

It has been deemed expedient to enter into this minute history of the Madrassa Mahal, as certain reforms in the studies and constitution of the College were formerly resisted on the ground that it had received an "endowment" for a specific object. There is nothing to show that "the lands assigned to constitute the Mudrussa Mehal were formally bestowed as an endowment, or that Government after the surrender of the proprietary right in them to the Rajah of Nuddea in 1795, ever fixed any precise sum by way of commutation or of annual allowance for the institution." Mr. Salmon writing in 1819 concludes that "the lands were never formally endowed, and that the provision made was rather a temporary assignment on their revenues than any grant of property, and it is clearly shown by the Treasury memorandum (then before him) that even such assignment has long since ceased, and that the jumma of the Mehal is carried to the credit of the public rental in common with the revenue of the 24-Perganas, and the disbursements of the institution are charged with the pensions and charitable allowances as a Government charge."

SUCCESSIVE REFORMS.

In 1791, an enquiry conducted under the orders of the Board of Revenue disclosed very culpable mismanagement on the part of the Maulvi. Mr. Chapman visited the Madrassa and found it in a wretched state of filth and disorder.* There were scholars nominally on the rolls who attended only when pay time came round, and who learned almost nothing. As an incident of College life in the Madrassa in those days, it is mentioned that during a Mahomedan festival a number of students committed a daring burglary in the house of one of the principal inhabitants of the city. Under the advice of the Board, the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, removed Mujeed-ood-deen from the post of preceptor and appointed Mohamad Israil in his place. A Committee was appointed to superintend the affairs of the college, consisting of:—

1. The President of the Board of Revenue—*President.*
2. Persian Translator
3. Preparer of Reports } *Members.*

The first Madrassa Committee was composed of Messrs. T. Graham, G. F. Cherry, and C. G. Meyer. A code of rules was laid down in which the

* Revenue Consultations, 18th March 1791 Nos. 7-10.

Committee were enjoined to visit the college once in every two months or oftener, and exercise a proper vigilance over the conduct of the Preceptor; the Preceptor was to be appointed by the Governor-General in Council; and to be removed only by His Excellency on proof of incapacity or misconduct; the Committee to nominate and to remove under-teachers at their discretion; under-teachers were placed under the Preceptor, to whom they were to pay implicit obedience; he was to make all promotions from class to class; and the first class was to be specially instructed by him; he only was to inflict punishment on the pupils, by curtailing their allowances, or by expulsion. Those who were qualified, particularly in law, were to be appointed to the Civil and Criminal Courts. No student was allowed to remain on the establishment for a longer term than seven years. The studies prescribed were:—

1. Natural Philosophy.
2. Theology.
3. Law.
4. Astronomy.
5. Geometry.
6. Arithmetic.
7. Logic.
8. Rhetoric.
9. Grammar.

"The khuteeb or reader of the Koran and a mowazzin or crier, shall regularly attend at the Mudrussa, that the students may daily perform such acts of religious worship as are prescribed by the rules of the Mahomedan faith." Every Friday was set apart for religious worship and purification. The charges on account of the establishment were to be paid from the Treasury, and they were:—

For the Preceptor	...	...	...	Rs.	400
„ 1st under-Master	...	...	...	„	100
„ 2nd Do.	...	...	...	„	80
„ 3rd Do.	...	...	...	„	60
„ 4th Do.	...	...	...	„	40
„ Khuteeb	...	...	...	„	20
„ Mowazzin	...	...	...	„	10
„ Students @ rates from		...	Rs. 6 to	„	15

As if to mark as strongly as possible the religious character of the institution, the public accounts bear entries of expenses attending the celebration of the Id-uz-zuha and Id-ul-fitr, passed by the Governor-General in Council.*

* Revenue Consultations. 11th Dec. 1807 Nos. 42 and 45.

INTRODUCTION OF EUROPEAN SUPERVISION.

The Madrassa Committee after the introduction of the last reforms, which imparted to the College a more decidedly Mahomedan character than it had ever worn since its foundation, became convinced that it required European superintendence.* After describing the duties and privileges which in the government of the College belonged to the office of Ameen, and the reasons which induced Sir John Shore in 1788 to abolish it, the Committee said that this measure threw into the hands of the Preceptor a much larger share of authority than should properly belong to him; that he was virtually absolute in the management of the Madrassa; and that the Committee possessed no means of keeping themselves informed of any possible acts of oppression or injustice on his part and that of his assistants, or of applying remedies against them. They, therefore, recommended that a European Secretary should be appointed. "His duty would be to visit institution from day to day, to inspect the conduct of all its details, to communicate with the students as well as the teachers, to assemble the Committee on all necessary occasions, to keep a record of their proceedings, to see their resolutions carried into effect, and to propose the introduction of such measures of improvement as experience and observation might happen to suggest. *Whether these improvements ought or ought not to embrace the future introduction of European Science is a question which Government alone* can decide: but on the hypothesis of its exclusion ample room will be left for improving the Oriental system of instruction which is known by those conversant in the subject to delight in surrounding with unnecessary difficulties the attainment of the ends proposed by itself." The Governor-General, Marquis of Hastings, was fully alive to the importance of the views expressed by the Committee, but doubted whether the funds of the College would afford the salary of a Secretary without at the same time "encroaching on the just claims of the native community connected with the Mudrussa"; and also wished to be furnished with a well-considered report on the reforms which were thought desirable. His Lordship said: "Your Committee justly intimate the necessity of avoiding everything that might shock the sentiments of the people, and the consequent expediency of proceeding gradually in the course of reform. The Governor-General in Council would, however, by no means wish to restrain your Committee from the gradual introduction of European Science, although it would, of course, be inexpedient to supersede a system which age has rendered venerable, and the defects of which we can scarcely expect to be recognized until the means of communicating correct opinions shall be better matured."

* Revenue Consultations, 16th March 1812, and 9th October 1818 Nos. 15—16.

The Committee answered in an elaborate report* showing fully that the intention of Government was to have endowed the Madrassa with lands yielding an annual rental of Rupees 30,000; that although this object was never carried out, and the expenses of the Madrassa were thrown as a direct charge† on the Treasury, the Government was bound by its original intention, and that an assignment of revenue should be made fully equal to that which would have been derived from the lands at one time marked out for appropriation as the Madrassa Mahal. The Governor-General was satisfied of the justice of this demand, and the sum of rupees 30,000 per annum was fixed for the future support of the Madrassa. The Committee were allowed a Secretary to assist them in suggesting reforms; at the same time they were enjoined "great caution and discretion" as to the degree of interference which he was to exercise in the internal affairs of the institution. The first Secretary appointed by the Governor-General was Captain Irvine, of the 4th Native Infantry, on a salary of Rupees 300 per mensem in addition to his pay and allowances; the selection being due to the Governor-General's opinion that from his previous habits and studies, he possessed qualifications that peculiarly fitted him for aiding the Committee in the task which they had proposed to themselves. No report was, however, made to Government of the reforms which the Committee had in view.

But, in September 1820,‡ they sent up apparently, as an instalment of the scheme, a set of supplementary rules, which were approved by the Governor-General. An abstract of them is subjoined. Lectures were to be given on every day of the week, except Friday; hours of lecture to be from 8 in the morning till 2 in the afternoon; the several classes of students to be distributed among the preceptors in several departments; quarterly reports of the progress of the several classes to be made to the Governor-General through the Secretary; half yearly examinations to take place, both of students and of candidates for admission, and to be held publicly; various prizes, from 12 to 100 rupees each, to be awarded to students at the principal examination in January; smaller prizes and honorary dresses to be awarded for general good conduct; the most distinguished scholars, not on the foundation, as well those on the foundation, to succeed to vacancies in the public service according to merit, and to have equal prizes awarded to them; leave of absence, in all cases, restricted to two months in the year; mode of admission to be by application in writing; no person to continue in the Madrassa beyond the age of twenty-eight years.

* Revenue Consultations, 23rd July 1819, Nos. 11-22.

† Paragraphs 3 to 6 of this article.

‡ Revenue Consultations, 27th October 1820, Nos. 3-4.

The first public examination, in accordance with these rules, was held at the Town Hall, on the 15th August 1821.* The Committee experienced considerable difficulty in overcoming opposition on the part of the preceptors, as well as of the pupils, to an open ordeal of the kind. It was quite natural that they should be averse to it. They were dependent on the head Moulvi for all they had; the teachers for favour and kind treatment, and the scholars for salaries and promotion. A public exhibition of the attainments of the latter would interfere with his exercise of private nepotism which it was their united interest to uphold. But the Committee were firm and had their way. At the second annual examination, held on the 6th June 1822,† the visitors present were the Reverend Mr. Thomason, Dr. H. H. Wilson, Mr. H. T. Prinsep, the Law officers of the Sudder Dewany Adalat and other Indians. The results on both occasions were considered by the Governor-General to be quite satisfactory. The system of jealous exclusiveness with which the Madrassa had hitherto been guarded was broken down; and the Committee felt themselves strong enough to introduce other innovations calculated to ensure the accomplishment of their objects. They wanted to select "a better class of books in certain branches of science than that which constituted the then existing course of study," and they hoped thereby to "direct the labour of the students in channels more likely to be useful to themselves and the State." The Government had no objection, but as usual, recommended caution and conciliation. In the report of the third annual examination the Committee further developed their plans. They discussed the question of (1) establishing an elementary school at the Presidency for preparing younger pupils for the Madrassa; (2) of elementary schools all over the country, with jaigirs or scholarships attached to them as rewards for learning and industry; (3) the restriction of admission to certain legally recognised offices, such as "vakeel, law officer, pergunnah quazee, sudder ameen and moonsiff" to the qualified students of the Madrassa; (4) the preparation of a Persian translation of the Government Regulations.

Lord Hastings retired in January 1823, and his temporary successor, Mr. John Adam, then Senior Member of the Governor General's Council, distinguished himself by at last initiating a body—a sort of Honourary Board—to carry out the policy intended by the framers of the Educational clause in the Charter of 1813. Influenced by Mr. Holt Mackenzie, the author of the first note on Education, Mr. Adam appointed a General Committee of Public Instruction.‡

* Revenue Consultations, 25th January 1822, Nos. 28-29.

† Revenue Consultations, 8th August 1822 Nos. 8-13, and 3rd July 1823 Nos. 14-19.

‡ Resolution dated 17 July 1823—runs thus:—Government of Bengal—Resolution—Revenue Department, Fort William, the 17th July 1823.

The proposals of the Madrassa Committee were referred to it for consideration. From this time, and so long as the General Committee continued in existence, the affairs of the Madrassa were managed through a Sub-Committee, assisted by a Secretary.

In the furtherance of their work in the Madrassa, the Committee felt themselves powerless without the constant presence of an ally in the midst of the Moulvies themselves, and they chose Hafez Ahmed Kubeer to be assistant to the Secretary (Dr. Lumsden) whose antecedents and disposition qualified him for giving them very valuable co-operation. He had for twelve years filled the "responsible office of Khuteeb," and was both a gentleman and a scholar.* Placed in the midst of men who knew for what purpose he was thrust among them, and who cordially disliked him on that account, he managed them with tact and temper. Dr. Lumsden speaks repeatedly of the services of the Hafez in assisting in the introduction of reforms into the Madrassa, and of the estimation in which, although disliked at first by his colleagues in the College, he was held by the Mahomedan community outside. His salary as Ameen was Rs. 100 per month. Dr. Lumsden's salary in 1822 was raised from Rupees 300 to Rupees 500 per month.

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1. In pursuance of the intention already announced in the orders passed on the report recently received from the Madrassa Committee the Governor-General in Council resolves that there shall be constituted a General Committe of Public Instruction for the purpose of ascertaining the state of public Education in this part of India and of the public institutions designed for its promotion, and of considering and from time to time submitting to Government the suggestion of such measures as it may appear expedient to adopt with a view to the better instruction of the people, to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and to the improvement of their moral character.

2 The Governor-General in Council is also pleased to resolve that the correspondence of Government with the committee to be appointed as above and with the other committees which may be maintained for the management of individual institutions, shall be henceforth conducted by the Persian Secretary to Government.

3 To that officer therefore the detailed instructions of Government relative to the constitutions and duties of the committee to be appointed as above, to the alterations which it may consequently become expedient to make in the constitution and functions of the several existing committees to the mode in which the correspondence of Government on the subject of public Education is to be brought on the records will be communicated.

4. The Governor-General in Council deems it sufficient to record in this Department his Resolution subject of course to the approval of the Honourable the Court of Directors, to appropriate to the object of public Education the sum of one lac of Rupees per annum in addition to such assignments as are made by the British Government previously to the Act of the 53rd of his late Majesty: and likewise of course exclusively of any endowments which may have been or may be made by Individuals applicable to a like purpose.

Ordered that the necessary communication be made to the Persian Secretary to Government and that that officer be furnished from this and other Departments with all necessary papers relating to the subject of public instruction

This committee was composed of the following persons then among the most distinguished members of the Civil Service —Messrs. J H Harington, J P Larkins, W. B. Martin, W B. Bayley, H. Shakespeare Holt Mackenzie, Henry Thoby Prinsep A. Stirling, J. C. C. Sutherland with Mr. H. H Wilson as Secretary.

* He was throughout his life so highly respected by the European gentlemen who knew him that in 1842 he was deputed by the Government to visit the oriental seminaries in the North-west, and to report on their condition and prospects. *Vide* Education Progs. 5th Oct. 1842, Nos 18A-19

In consequence of the unhealthiness of the original site of the Madrassa building,* and its affording to the students great facilities and temptations to dissipation, the Government resolved, in June 1823, to construct a new College in a more suitable locality known as Colingah†, and occupied chiefly by Mahomedans. For this purpose the sum of Rupees 1,40,537 was sanctioned for the purchase of the ground and the erection of a new College building. The foundation stone was laid on the 15th July 1824, and the establishment moved into it in August 1827. Charles Lushington‡ thus writes in 1824 about the old building of the Madrassa :—

"The building, hitherto occupied by the Madrassa, bring very much out of repair, and being also extremely confined, and placed not only in an unhealthy spot, but in a part of the city which afforded to the students great facilities and temptations to dissipation, immorality and idleness, the Government in consequence, resolved to construct a new College in a more suitable situation. A plan of a building nearly similar to that of the Hindoo College (see illustration facing this page) has been adopted, and the sum of Rupees 1,40,537 appropriated for the erection of the edifice and the purchase of the ground on which it is to stand, a portion of the expense being defrayed by the sale of the old premises. The site chosen is in a quarter of the town denominated Kalunga, which is tenanted by that class of people to whom the professors and students of the Madrassa belong, and in the proximity of the great body of Mussalman population. Besides accommodation for the College, the new buildings will provide for the Mussalman School about to be founded.

The foundation stone of the new structure was laid on the 15th July 1824 with the usual ceremonies of Free Masonry."

* Which stood on the southern side of the present Bowbazar Street exactly on the spot on which stands the building formerly occupied by the Zenana Mission of the Church of Scotland.

† Now Wellesley Square.

‡ *The History, Design and Present State of the Religious, Benevolent and Charitable Institution founded by the British in Calcutta and its vicinity, 1824, p. 140.*

INSCRIPTION

On the Plate placed under the Foundation Stone

OF THE NEW

GOVERNMENT MOHOMEDAN COLLEGE.

BY THE BLESSING OF ALMIGHTY GOD.

In the reign
of His Most Gracious Majesty George the Fourth
under the Auspices of the Right Honourable
WILLIAM PITT AMHERST,
Governor General
of the
British Possessions
In India,
JOHN PASCAL LARKINS, Esquire
Provincial Grand Master of the Fraternity
of Free Masons in
Bengal
Laid
The Foundation Stone of this Edifice
the Mohomedan College of
Calcutta,
Amidst the Acclamations of a vast
Concourse of the Native Population
of this City,
In the presence
of a Numerons Assembly of the Fraternity,
and
of the President and Members of the
Committee of General Instruction,
on the 15th day of July, in the year
of our Lord 1824, and of the era of
Masonry, 5824.
Planned and Constructed
by
William Burn, James Mackintosh,
and William Kemp.

وضع حجر اساس المدرسة رئيس ارباب الشورى معهم مستر لاركين بحضرت اصحاب كميت المدارس فى بلدة كلكته ايام سلطنة السلطان الاعظم الجارج الرابع وعهد حكومة الامير الكبير النواب المستطاب لارد امهرست گورنر جنرل بهادر سنه ۱۸۲۴ مسيحيه مطابقه سنة ۱۲۳۹ هجرية

درزمان عدالت بنيان شاه فلک بارگاه جارج چهارم ودرعهد حكومت امير كبير كيوان رفعت لارڈ امهرست گورنر جنرل بهادر در شهر كلكته رئيس ارباب شوري مسترلاركين باتفاق اصحاب شوره بحضور صاحبان كميٹي مدارس در سنه ۱۸۲۴ عسيوي مطابق سنه ۱۲۳۹ هجري سنگ بنايش نهاد

بادشاه والاجاه جارج چهارم كي عهد سلطنت اور امير عادل فيض گستر نواب لارڈ امهرست گورنر جنرل بهادر كي رياست مين شهر كلكته كے بيچ مسٹر لاركين نے جو سردار صاحبان شوريكا هي ساتهه اصحاب شوره كے هوكر روبروي صاحبان كميٹي مدارس كے پتهر بنائي مدرسي كاركها سنه ۱۸۲۴ عسوي مطابق سنه ۱۲۳۹ هجري مين

INTRODUCTION OF ENGLISH.

In 1826, the Committee, acting under the directions of the Governor-General, established an English Class in the Madrassa. The study of English was to form "a regular prominent part of the system of tuition," to which Government "justly attached great importance," and the Committee were to "avail themselves of any opportunity that may offer to encourage that branch of study." An account of this school is already in print, and will be found in the Appendix (No. I) of the *Papers relating to the establishment of the Presidency College*, published as Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, No. XIV. It is deemed unnecessary to reproduce here any portion of this account which extends from 1826 to 1851. From a statement annexed of the cost of establishment and number of pupils from 1829 to 1851 the following facts are deducible. During these twenty-four years 1,787 pupils were taught, at a cost of Rupees 1,03,794, or an average annual cost of Rupees 58 per pupil to work up to a standard scarcely equal to the present Junior Scholarship. In fact during the entire period that it was kept up, the English Department of the Madrassa produced only two Junior Scholars, Abdool Luteef* and Wuheedoon Nubbee. In this respect the corresponding department of the

* Nowab Abdool Luteef Bahadur C.I.E., founder of the Mahomedan Literary Society.

THE MADRASSA.

Photo by Harrington and Blees.

sister College of Mahomed Mohsin at Hoogly did as much, and no more, having likewise produced two English Junior Scholars, Moosa Ali and Waris Ali, who are both spoken of in the Selections already referred to

It is unnecessary to go year by year over the records of the Madrassa of this period, which are full of discussions on the subject of the "media" most suitable for the communication of a knowledge of Western Literature and Science to the Hindoos and Mahomedans. The times were full of eager and generally of angry controversy between the parties known respectively as "Anglicists" and "Vernacularists," the former advocating the introduction of English into all colleges and schools intended for the education of the Indians, and of its study being insisted on as the passport to their employment in every branch of the public service; the latter, while admitting the primary object of all Indian education to be the acquisition of European Science, yet contending that it should be offered to the mass of the people through their own vernacular languages. In furtherance of their views the Vernacularists had influence enough to obtain the sanction of Government to the translation into Bengali, Urdu and Persian of a large number of English works, which never became popular among the community for whom they were intended The extreme zeal of the "Anglicists" led them, on the other hand, to measures little short of confiscation of the funds of specially endowed institutions On the 7th March 1835 Lord William Bentinck recorded his famous resolution in which he directed that "all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education be employed on English education alone"; that Oriental professorships should be gradually abolished, and that the expenditure of money on vernacular translations should at once cease. The resolution caused extreme offence, but was counterpoised by Lord Auckland's famous Minute of the 24th November 1839, in which His Lordship emphatically ruled that under existing circumstances a preference would be given in Oriental institutions to the promotion of perfect efficiency in Oriental instruction. This view was supported by the Court of Directors, in a Despatch* dated 20th January 1841 who ruled that "the funds assigned to each Native College or Oriental Seminary should be employed exclusively on instruction in or in connexion with, that College or Seminary, giving a decided preference within these institutions to the promotion in the first instance of perfect efficiency in Oriental instruction" No changes, therefore, of any importance, were introduced into the Madrassa between 1840 and 1850 which elapsed after the date of the Court's Despatch In 1842, on the abolition of the General Committee, and the establishment of the Council of Education,† the Madrassa Sub-Committee was done away with, and the Secretary directly corresponded with the Council on all matters connected with the Institution In 1850

* Education Proceedings, April 1861, Nos 40-41

† Resolution dated 12th January 1842

the Council recommended that, instead of a Secretary, the Madrassa should have placed at its head a European Principal, with duties and responsibilities similar to those in other Colleges, *with the exception of teaching a class*. The suggestion was adopted, and Dr. Aloys Sprenger, a well-known Arabic scholar, was appointed Principal. The head teacher, who had been hitherto designated as Principal, became Head Professor of the College.

ORIGIN OF THE ANGLO-PERSIAN DEPARTMENT.

In 1851 important changes were introduced into the whole of the Government educational establishments in Calcutta, and by a concourse of circumstances the Madrassa fell into the plan. They originated in the appointment of Dr. Sprenger as Principal of the Madrassa, and the reforms which he, without the concurrence or authority of the Council of Education, introduced into the studies and discipline of the institution. A disturbance took place. Dr. Sprenger resorted to the assistance of the Police to effect the expulsion of the students who had openly mutinied and set his authority at defiance; and finally a Committee of the Council of Education was appointed to inquire into and submit a full report on the causes of the misunderstanding and the measures that were necessary for remedying them. It was found that the pupils objected to the discontinuance of the study of certain Arabic books on Physical Science, which had formed a part of its curriculum ever since its foundation, and to their being ordered to a work on Natural Philosophy only in Urdoo with Mr. Lawler, the master of the Anglo-Arabic class. The order was felt to be a most obnoxious one, because—

"(1)—Of the discontinuance of Mybuzee and Sudra.

"(2)—Of having to substitute the philosophy of the present day for the philosophy of the dark ages.

"(3)—Of having to read in Oordoo instead of Arabic.

"(4)—Of having to read Oordoo and Philosophy with Mr. Lawler, an Eurasian and a Christian."

The Professors, if they did not sympathise with the students, attempted nothing that was in their power to allay the irritation, or to support the authority of the Principal. The Committee was composed of the President of the Council, the Hon'ble J. E. D. Bethune, Messrs. F. J. Halliday and Cecil Beadon* and Dr. J. Forsyth. Owing to the death of the Pesident before the completion of the report, it was signed by the last three. It will be found printed in full at Appendix Nos. 2 and 3 of the volume of *Selections* already referred to. After the disorders had been effectually quelled, the Council entered at length into the consideration of the question of thoroughly reforming and re-organizing the Madrassa. The Minutes of the Council are to be found in the volume of

* The Hon'ble John Elliott Drinkwater Bethune, Legislative Member of the Governors General's Council and founder of the Bethune College; Sir Frederick Halliday first Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and his successor Sir Cecil Beadon.

Selections, to which reference has just been made, and their recommendations are embodied in the following paragraphs of a letter to the Government of Bengal,* which are hardly susceptible of analysis :—

"The present English and Anglo-Arabic classes should be closed, and in their stead an Anglo-Persian Department should be organized, upon such a scale, and with such an establishment, as to afford the means of acquiring a thorough English education as far as the junior English scholarship standard. Persian should be taught simultaneously with English in this Department, for the following reasons :—

"There is an objection, in all Mahomedan families, to send their children to school at the early age at which Hindoo boys are to be found in our *pat-shalas*. The earliest education of the Mahomedan child is begun in his own home, where, in all families of respectability, he is taught Persian, and enough of Arabic to make him fairly master of the modern composite Persian. This education is commenced at 6 or 7 years of age, and is usually carried on to the age of 10 or 12; when those of the learned class, relations of scholarly families, or persons desirous of taking rank as Moulvees, devote themselves chiefly to Arabic. At this age, a Mahomedan gentleman, in Bengal of the present day, sensible of the necessity of English for his son's success in life, and not caring that he should be learned in the Arabic language and laws, will be very willing to make his son apply himself to English, if he can carry on at the same time his Persian reading; which, as a becoming and agreeable accomplishment, and a liberal acquirement likely to be of benefit to the character, he would not forego.

"The Mudrussa is believed to be a very fit, as it certainly is a very convenient place, in which to originate this Anglo-Persian scheme of study. It is a place of learning which the Mahomedans regard as devoted to their exclusive benefit; it is held in great respect and repute throughout Bengal; and it is freely resorted to by Mahomedans from all parts of the Presidency.

"In addition to English and Persian, it should contain the means of instruction in Hindustanee and Bengalee, the one being the domestic language of the Mahomedans all over India, and the other being the Vernacular language of this Province.

"The Council propose to carry in the Mudrussa the study of English only as far as the junior scholarship standard; that is to say, the standard of school honors. Intelligent pupils, entering at 9 or 10 years of age, ought to be able to attain this standard in 5 or 6 years.

"At the end of this period, the course of education in Persian, which is considered to be fit and becoming for a Mahomedan gentleman, will have

* Education Proceedings, 27th Oct. 1853, No. 99.

been well completed, and the pupil should make his election between the further prosecution of English, and devotion exclusively, or at least chiefly, to Arabic; the simultaneous and prolonged study of the two, in the more advanced stages, being incompatible. If he prefers the Arabic course, he will remain in the Mudrussa: if he prefers the English course, he will prosecute his studies at the great Metropolitan College,* open to all classes, into which it is proposed, as will be explained below, that the present Hindoo College should be converted."

"The Council recommend the following changes in the Arabic Department of the College:—

"They would not oblige those who enter this department to pass through the Anglo-Persian department; but they would require of those who enter it, without having passed through that department, a high entrance standard in respect to Oriental acquirements, equal at least to what would be required of a boy entering the Arabic department from the Anglo-Persian department. In their opinion, it is only where necessity compels it, that elementary instruction is properly given in such an institution as a Government College; and there is no such necessity in regard to Arabic.

"On the other hand, the Council would allow any student in the Arabic department, if he pleased, to attend any particular classes he chose in the great Metropolitan College.

"The Council would cease entirely from attempts to teach the physical sciences in the Arabic language. If these sciences are taught from Arabic books, as at present, a great mass of error and absurdity is taught as if it were truth and reason; and, at the best, progressive sciences are taught as if they had made no progress for some two thousand years. Science ought not, the Council hold, to be thus taught by any Government. To teach it otherwise in the Arabic Department, vernacular translations of, or compilations

* The Council of Education evidently refers to the Hindoo Metropolitan College. The Hindoo Metropolitan College was a first-class independent Native College established by the well-known family of the Wellington Square Dutts of Calcutta who had at one time led the fashion in the late metropolis. The history of this institution is not a little curious and instructive. The sons of the better class of Hindoos were then educated at the Hindu College. Though then a Government college, it had been started by the Hindus themselves and been taken over under conditions to maintain it as a place for the education of the respectable classes of the Hindoo society. That condition was violated when the bastard son of a well-known dancing girl, the famous Heera, whom D. L. Richardson falicitously called "the Indian Nightingale," was admitted into the college as a student. The incident inflicted a wound on Hindu feeling It was regarded as a deliberate affront to the entire respectability of native society. A great hue and cry was raised. The managers of the defaulting institution were appealed to repel the boy of the dancing girl in vain. It was as a practical expression of the indignation felt that the Hindu Metropolitan College was founded It was opened in May, 1853 at a palatial mansion on the main thorougfare of Calcutta, Chitpur Road, under the presidency of the greatest Anglo-Indian man of letters of the day, Captain D. L. Richardson and a strong staff of professors which included Captain Harris, William Kirkpatrick and William Masters. The indignation of the Bengali community did not, however, last, specially as Government made soon after some concessions to the popular feeling, and the Wellington Square Dutts only lost a fortune in maintaining native character and consistency, until the institution was closed during the crisis of 1857.

from, English books must be made, and a new set of teachers must be provided. This may, perhaps, be found eventually desirable for the older students, who seek a high proficiency in the Arabic *language*. But in English, such instruction is already available elsewhere; and those to whom, for the present at least, instruction of the nature would be acceptable, are the class who, it is expected, will acquire the English language at any rate."

The establishment for carrying out these purposes was as follows:—

ANGLO-PERSIAN DEPARTMENT.

Head Master...	...	...	...	Rs.	400
Second Master	...	...	...	,,	300
Third Master...	...	...	...	,,	150
Fourth Master	...	...	...	,,	100
Fifth Master ...	...	...	...	,,	80
Sixth Master...	...	...	...	,,	50
Seventh Master	...	...	...	,,	40
Eighth Master	...	...	...	,,	30
First Persian Teacher	...	...	...	,,	100
Second Persian Teacher...		...	...	,,	50
Third Persian Teacher	...	...	...	,,	30
First Pundit ...	...	...	...	,,	40
Second Pundit	...	...	...	,,	20
Librarian ...	...	...	...	,,	20
					1,410

a month or 16,920 annually.

"To meet this in part, there was the present cost of the English Department to be abolished *viz*:—

Head Master...	...	...	...	Rs.	150
Second Master	...	...	...	,,	50
Third Master	...	...	...	,,	30
Bengalee Master	...	...	...	,,	40
				Rs.	270

and there was the allowance for the Anglo-Arabic class, in abeyance, *viz* Rupees 100, leaving a balance of somewhat more than Rupees 1,000 a month to be provided from the Education Funds."

Subsidiary to the above scheme was the establishment, as a branch to the Madrassa, but in no wise affiliated to or connected with, of a school in Colingah, for the instruction of the children of the lower classes in the subjects proposed to be taught in the Anglo-Persian department of the College. The

concluding paragraphs of the letter of the Council are deserving of special attention :—

"In closing this report, it may be desirable to bring prominently to notice, that the Government has effectively provided, by the foundation and maintenance of the Sanskrit College, for the instruction of the principal classes of the Hindoo community in their own literature and learned language, in like manner as it has provided, by the establishment of the Mudrussa or Mahomedan College, for the instruction of the Mahomedans in the Arabic language and literature.

"The Hon'ble the Court of Directors have, by their Despatch of the 20th January 1841, laid it down as a permanent principle, in approval of the recommendations which were submitted to it by the Government of India, that the funds assigned to these two great Institutions of Oriental learning, should be employed exclusively in instruction in, or in connection with, those Institutions, giving a decided preference to the promotion in the first instance of perfect efficiency in Oriental instruction.

"While the special character and objects of these important Institutions are carefully borne in mind by the Council, it is its earnest desire so to frame the scheme of instruction in them, as that while every facility is given for the cultivation of the highest Oriental learning, the pupils may also have the foundation well laid, of a knowledge of the English language and of English literature which may enable and induce many of them to prosecute eventually those more improving studies in the advanced classes of the General Metropolitan College.

"The whole aim of the Council, in the proposals offered in the present report in respect to the Mahomedan College, is, while maintaining its distinctive character as an efficient seminary of Arabic instruction for the learned classes of that community, to infuse into it the same spirit of progress, and of adaptation to the wants of the present time, which so honorably distinguish the Sanskrit College, under the superintendence of the singularly able and enlightened scholar,* under whose care as its Principal the latter college has the good fortune to be now placed.

"Both of these are, in their nature, separate or exclusive Colleges, conducted upon principles peculiar to themselves. The peculiarity of their constitution the Council would sedulously respect; but it would seek at the same time to bring them into harmony and connection with the highest scheme of general instruction, which is devised for those who are trained only in its English institutions."

The approval† of the Marquis of Dalhousie, then Governor of Bengal, was communicated to the Council of Education on the 21st October 1853.

* Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar.

† Proceedings 27th Octobe 1853, No. 109.

In April 1858 the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (Sir Frederick Halliday) caused a letter to be written to the Director of Public Instruction, calling for a special report on the Madrassa.* It appeared to His Honour that the time had come for considering whether there was any advantage in maintaining that institution any longer at the cost of the State, and His Honour wanted to have the Director's opinion after consulting Principal William Nassau Lees on the subject. Principal Lees submitted an elaborate report in which he reviewed the question—(1) politically, (2) educationally, and (3) financially.†

(1) There were two courses open to the British Government for adoption towards the Mahomedans of India, who, at first reconciled to the British power by the policy which virtually left the administration of the country in their hands, even after its subjugation by the English, had retired into a sullen discontent on being deprived of that preference. This was the natural result of the introduction of English Judges into the Criminal Courts, the encouragement given to the study of English, the cultivation of Western literature and science by all classes of Indians, and the recognition of merit suited to the wants of the age wherever found and by whomsoever possessed. The Hindoos were ready enough to accept patronage on the terms offered, and the acquisition of knowledge through the medium of English had become with them the essential qualification for every grade of respectability and position in society. But the Mahomedans have held back, and rather than seek advancement by methods which they looked upon (or affected to look upon) as prejudicial to their religion, they have gradually lost their place in public employ and have sunk into poverty and neglect. If Government were to leave them alone, they would sink lower and lower until, in process of time, the best and most respectable of them would have to seek for livelihood by service as domestic servants. But the proper policy of Government would be to reclaim them from the condition to which they would consign themselves, and to regenerate them: and the means for this purpose would be afforded by the Madrassa.

(2) The Arabic department had proved a failure. The reforms in the mode of teaching, contemplated by the Council of Education in 1854, have not been carried out, chiefly through the opposition of the Moulvis themselves. Still it would be impolitic to abolish the institution which is considered by the Mahomedans as designed by Government for their own peculiar benefit. It should be kept up for the special study of the Arabic language, and be called the "Arabic College." The Anglo-Persian Department which has thriven well and has exercised quite a healthy influence on the Mahomedan community should be kept up.

* Proceedings 8th April 1858, No. 83.

† Education Proceedings 11th November 1858, No. 25.

(3) The original endowment of the Madrassa amounted to Rupees 32,000 per annum which in 1853 was raised to Rupees 33,200. The number of pupils in both departments was 173, which gave an annual expenditure of Rupees 158 per pupil. This was rather high, but if the object of the expenditure were attained, the money would be well laid out.

In a subsequent memorandum* Principal Lees mentioned the following as the obstacles in the way of the reforms intended by the Council of Education in 1853 to be introduced into the Arabic Department:—want of sufficient power on the part of the Principal to enforce his authority; the disingenuous conduct of the Head Professor; and partly the incapacity and partly the unwillingness of the Junior Professors to teach Arabic on the other than those methods by which they had themselves acquired it.

Whereupon the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Frederick Halliday, recorded a Minute,† in which he recommended that the Madrassa or rather the Arabic Department of it, should be abolished, the Anglo-Persian only being retained; that Arabic Professorships might instead be attached to the University or Arabic Chairs established in the Calcutta Presidency College. In these views the Director of Public Instruction, Mr. W. Gordon Young, concurred, and they were formally laid before the Government of India. That Government did not agree,‡ but advised, instead of abolishing the Arabic Department, that the reforms which the Council of Education suggested in 1853 should be vigorously carried out, and with this view that greater authority should be given to the Principal. Thereupon the Director was requested, "in communication with Principal Lees to prepare a detailed plan for carrying energetically into effect the instructions of the Government of India." The Director was assured "that the Lieutenant-Governor was prepared to afford the Principal the fullest support in any arrangements he may think necessary for procuring fit instruments to put the new plan into real and effective operation." In 1861 a Despatch was received from the Secretary of State,§ approving of the decision of the Supreme Government, and adding that "as the arrangements now sanctioned must be considered experimental, a special report as to their operation and result must be submitted after a period not exceeding two years from the date of the orders of July 1860." This special report,‖ although called for by the Government of India in September 1862, was never submitted.

[*To be continued.*]

* Education Proceedings, 11th November 1858, No. 27.
† Education Proceedings, 11th November 1858, No. .
‡ Education Proceedings, July 1860, No. 11.
§ Education Proceedings, April 1861, Nos. 40-41.
‖ Education Proceedings, March 1864, No. 21.

Appendix A.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL:—In the month of September 1780, a petition was presented to me by a considerable number of Mussalmen of credit and learning who attended in a body for that purpose praying that I would use my influence with a stranger of the name of Mujid Odin who was then lately arrived at the Presidency to persuade him to remain there for the instruction of young students in the Mahomedan law and in such other sciences as are taught in the Mahomedan schools for which he was represented to be uncommonly qualified. They represented that this was a favourable occasion to establish a Madrassa or College, and Mujid Odin the fittest person to form and preside in it, that Calcutta was already become the seat of a Great Empire, and the resort of persons from all parts of Hindoostan and Deccan, that it had been the pride of every polished Court and the wisdom of every well-regulated Government both in India and Persia to promote by such Institution the growth and extension of liberal knowledge, that in India only the traces of them now remain, the decline of learning having accomplished that of the Mogul Empire, that the numerous offices of our Government which required men of improved abilities to fill and the care which had been occasionally observed to select men of the first eminence in the science of jurisprudence to officiate as Judges in the Criminal and Assessors in the Civil Courts of Judicature, and (I hope this addition will not be imputed to me as ostentation on an occasion in which the sincerity of what I shall hereafter propose for the Public Patronage will be best evident by my own example), the belief which generally prevailed that men so accomplished usually met with a distinguished reception from myself afforded them particular encouragement to hope that a proposal of this nature would prove acceptable to the actual Government.

This was the substance of the Petition which I can only repeat from my memory, having mislaid the original.

I dismissed them with a promise of complying with their wishes to the utmost of my power, I sent for the man on whom they had bestowed such encomiums and prevailed upon him to accept of the office designed for him. He opened his school at the beginning of October and has bestowed an unremitted attention on it to this time, with a success and reputation which have justified the expectations which have been formed of it. Many students have already finished their education under his instructions, and have received their dismission in form and many dismissed unknown to me. The master supposing himself limited to a fixed monthly sum which would not admit a larger number besides day scholars, he has at this time forty boarders mostly natives of these Provinces but some sojourners from other parts of India, among them I had the satisfaction of seeing on the last New Year's day, some who had come from the Districts of Cashmere, Guzerat and one from the Carnatic.

I am assured that the want of suitable accommodation alone prevents an increase of the number. For this reason I have lately made a purchase of a convenient piece of ground near the Boita Connah in a quarter of the town called Podpokur and have laid the foundation of a square building for a Madrassa constructed on the plan of similar edifices in other parts of India.

Thus far I have prosecuted the undertaking on my own means and with no very liberal supplies. I am now constrained to recommend it to the Board, and through that channel to the Hon'ble Court of Directors for a more adequate and permanent endowment.

By an estimate of the building which with a plan and elevation of it shall accompany this minute, the whole cost of it will be 51,000 Arcot Rs. to which I shall beg leave to add the price of the ground being sicca Rs. 6,280. The amount of both is Arcot Rs. 57,745-2-11. It shall be my care to prevent an excess of this sum, which I request may be placed to the Company's accounts, and a bond allowed me for the amount and that I may be enabled by the sanction of the Board to execute this work.

I must likewise propose that a parcel of land may be assigned for the growing charge of this foundation. The present expense is as follows:—

	Rs.	A.	P.
The Preceptor per month	300	0	0
40 scholars from Rs. 7 to 5 per month	222	0	0
A sweeper	3	0	0
House rent	100	0	0
Sicca Rs. . .	625	0	0

The day scholars pay nothing. In the preparation of the above expense an establishment of 100 scholars may be estimated at Rs. 1000 per month at the utmost. I would recommend that the rents of one or more *mouzas* or villages in the neighbourhood of the place be assigned for the monthly expense of the proposed Madrassa and that it be referred to the Committee of Revenue to provide and make the endowment and to regulate the mode of collection and payment in such a manner as to fix and ascertain the amount and periods of both and prevent any future abuses of one or misapplication of the other. For the present an assignment of half the estimated sum will be sufficient.

WARREN HASTINGS.

FORT WILLIAM, *the 17th April 1781.*

Agreed. E. Wheler.

Ordered that the estimate enclosed in the above minute be entered after the consultation.

Agreed to the Governor-General's request and ordered accordingly :—

Ordered that copies of the above minute and its enclosure together with the plan and elevation of the building therein mentioned be transmitted to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors by the ships under dispatch, and the subject particularly recommended to them for the purposes set forth by the Governor-General.

Appendix B.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL: As upon enquiry I find that the Committee of Revenue have not yet been directed to assign the rent of one or more *Mouzas* or Villages in the neighbourhood of the spot upon which the Madrissa has been erected for the monthly expence thereof as resolved upon by the Board on the 18th April 1781, and as the monthly expence of that institution has been since that time defrayed by me, I request that the Committee of Revenue may be furnished with the direction recommended by my minute of the 18th April, and ordered to repay to me the amount which I have since that time paid on this account amounting agreeable to the accompanying Account to C. Rs. 8,251-12.

On comparing the statement of the monthly expence of this institution contained in my minute of the 18th April 1781 with the sums which I have monthly disbursed on this account the former of which was taken from the representation of my Moonshy who does not seem to have been apprised of its actual expence, I find that I have in that minute somewhat underrated the sum required for its monthly support. I therefore request that the Board will be pleased to direct the Committee of Revenue to assign the rent of one or more *Mouzas* producing a monthly revenue of twelve hundred sicca rupees per month to be applied to this purpose and to commence on the first of this month.

I find that I have been misinformed as to the cost of the grounds upon which the building has been erected, which was in that Minute stated at 6,280 Sa. Rs., but which amounts to no more than Sa. Rs. 5,641 agreeable to the accompanying account of the "Kowalleahs" taken from the persons of whom the several parcels of land were purchased, which "Kowalleahs" accompanying this Minute.

I request that the Board will be pleased to order the Sub-Treasurer to make a transfer of the amount which I have advanced on this account in the Treasury account of the present month charging the same to the Madrissa and crediting money borrowed at interest for the sums advanced by me, for which I request he may be directed to prepare Bonds in my name with interest to commence from the dates upon which the sums were severally advanced, agreeable to the accompanying account thereof.

I request that the Committee of Revenue be directed to receive charge of the "Kowalleahs" from the Secretary to the Board and to preserve them with the records of their office.

List of the "Kowalleahs" and Receipts given for the ground upon which the Madrissa stand and of the sums paid for the same:—

		Bs.	C.			Rs.	A.	P.
1	Fokeer Chand Tewarrey for	2	5	@ 80 S.Rs. per cottah ...		3,601	0	0
2	Bankier		3	@ ditto ...		240	0	0
3	Urrooney Rawn		4½	@ ditto ...		360	0	0
4	Tajoor Moorman		2	@ ditto ...		160	0	0
5	Haywatty		6½	@ ditto ...		520	0	0
6	Harraney Rawn		5	@ ditto ...		400	0	0
7	Elizabeth and Robert Oliver		6	@ ditto ...		360	0	0
		3-12		Sa. Rs. ...		5,641	0	0
7	Kowalleahs			Batta 16 p. C. Rs. ...		902	8	9
				C. Rs. ...		6,543	8	9

"Without Date." WARREN HASTINGS.

(Recorded as Cons. 2 and 3, *3rd June 1782.*)

Account of sums disbursed by the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Esqr., on account of the Madrissa from the 30th April 1781 to the 1st May 1782.

1781		Rs.
May.	Paid Moulvey Musdodey for keeping a School ...	200
	House rent	100
	Wages	300
	@ Rs. 600 or 648	

Wages for keeping another School for 25 days.

	Rs.	As.	P.
@ 470 per month	391	10	9
House rent @ 51-8 p.m.	42	14	9
@ Rs. 434 9 6 or	469	5	9

Given to Moulaveys Essup and Musrief.

	Rs.	As.	P.
2 Khillats contg. 4 pp ca 375 or 405 ...	1,522	5	9

		Rs.
June.	Paid Moulvey Musdodey for keeping a School ...	200
	House rent	100
	Wages	300
		600

					Rs.	As.	P.
June.	Paid Moulvey for keeping another School			...	470	0	0
			House rent	...	51	8	0
					521	8	0
			@ Rs. 1,121 8 or		1,211	3	6
July.	Paid Moulvey for keeping another School			...	1,211	3	6
		Carried over	...	...	3,944	12	9
		Brought forward	...	...	3,944	12	9
1781.							
August	Paid Moulvey Musdodey for keeping Schools, etc.				1,211	3	6
September	Ditto	ditto	ditto	...	1,211	3	6
October	Ditto	ditto	ditto	...	1,211	3	6
November	Ditto	ditto	ditto	...	1,211	3	6
December	Ditto	ditto	ditto	...	1,211	3	6
1782.							
January	Ditto	ditto	ditto	...	1,211	3	6
February	Ditto	ditto	ditto	...	1,211	3	6
March	Ditto	ditto	ditto	...	1,211	3	6
April	Ditto	ditto	ditto	...	1,211	3	6
					14,845	12	3
Amount paid to darogah for superintending the building @ Rs. 350					406	0	0
				C. Rs.	15,251	12	3

(Without date) WARREN HASTINGS.

(Record No. 4 Cons., *dated 3rd June 1782*).

Appendix C.

Governor-General's Minute.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.—It has been deemed expedient on maxims of sound Policy to continue the administration of the Criminal Courts of Judicature, and many of the most important branches of the Police in the hands of Mahomedan officers. To discharge with credit, the duties and functions annexed to those jurisdictions, it is necessary that the persons who hold them should not only be endowed with natural talents, but also that they should be possessed of a considerable degree of erudition in the Persian and Arabic Languages, and in the complicated system of Laws founded on the tenets of their religion. This species of erudition has for some years past been much on the decline; since the

management of the Revenues has been taken into our hands it has chiefly been carried on by the English Servants of the Company, and by the Hindoos who from their education and habits of diligence and frugality possess great advantages over the Mahometans, in conducting all affairs of finance and accounts. In consequence of this change the Mahometan families have lost those sources of private emolument which could enable them to bestow much expence on the education of their children, and are deprived of that power which they formerly possessed of endowing or patronizing public seminaries of learning. The Phousdary Department which affords but a bare subsistence to the officers employed in it neither possesses the means of encouraging, nor holds out a prospect capable of inducing the sons of the once respectable, but now decayed and impoverished Mahometan families to qualify themselves for succeeding to the duties of it by a long and laborious course of study. These reflections about four years ago suggested to me the idea of founding a Mudderssa or College for the cultivation of Mahometan Literature in the town of Calcutta. I accordingly erected a building for that purpose at my own expence, and with the concurrence of Mr. Wheler at that time the only other member of the Government, I directed the gentlemen of the Committee of Revenue who were then employed in the general settlement of the 24 Perganas some lands estimated at a gross Revenue of Rs. 29000 per annum which it was intended should be appropriated and granted by Government as an endowment for the expence of maintaining the Teachers and Scholars, and of keeping the College in repairs, the Committee carried my directions into execution, and the lands which I had marked out, with some little exchanges admitted on subsequent experience for the sake of conveniences, have ever since been considered as appropriated to the maintenance of the establishment, and have been excepted in the general settlement from being farmed; they have accordingly been placed under the immediate management of the Collector of the 24 Perganas and an allowance in money of Rs. 12732-5-11 per annum have been paid for the maintenance of the establishment, in lieu of the income of the lands. My journey to Benares took place very soon after the lands were marked out, and I believe it was chiefly owing to that circumstance that no official grant has ever been passed for this endowment. I beg leave therefore to recommend the following propositions to the consideration of the Board, *viz.*,

1. That a sunnund of Towaleat or Guardianship to the establishment with the lands annexed to it in the name of the present Superior Mahomed Sheyda Deen, to continue during the pleasure of Government, the succession to be at the disposal of the Governor-General and Council.

2. That the lands appropriated for the maintenance of the Muddrassa be delivered over to the charge of the said Superior, or Guardian, and jumma of them separated from the Public Revenue.

3. That all charges attending the Muddrissa such as the stated jaghiers or allowances for the students, the wages of servants, repairs, and all contingent charges, be defrayed by the Superior in consideration of his obtaining the lands, that therefore the Committe shall not be allowed to incur any further charges on this account.

4. That the Superior do at the end of every month deliver into the Committee of Revenue, a full and perfect account of the number of students actually maintained in the Muddrissa, with their names and the salaries paid to each.

5. That a member of the Committee of Revenue do once every three months or oftener visit the Muddrissa in order to see that it is kept in proper repair, that the full number of students are maintained, that they regularly receive their due allowance, that the Superior performs the duties of his office, and generally that the purposes of the Institution are not deflected.

Board's Resolution thereon.

The Board agree to the several propositions recommended by the Governor-General, and in addition thereto, that it be recommended to the Naib Nazzaim, that whenever vacancies shall arise in the Fouzdary Courts, they be filled from the students of the Muddrissa on certificates being produced that they are duly qualified for that purpose.

Governor General requested to write to Naib Naziem.

Agreed that the Governor-General be requested to write the Naib Naziem accordingly.

Leaves from the President's Note Book.

BY the kindness of Miss L. M. Anstey I am enabled to publish in the present number a photograph of a miniature of John Stackhouse, who, in February 1732, succeeded J. Deane as Governor at Fort William. Stackhouse "arrived" in Bengal on the 17th August, 1710. In the year 1733 he was taken to account for the ill deeds of his banyan, and dismissed from his high office. In January 1741 it appears on record that "Mr. Stackhouse's debt is wholly paid," and on September 28th the Burial Register records his interment. He had in 1734 sent his wife and family home to England. A daughter of his, Ann by name, married a Mr. Benjamin Walker, one of the family of Walkers of Southgate so well known to students of the annals of cricket. John Stackhouse was in 1721 one of Church Warden of St. Anne's. Stackhouse was succeeded as President and Governor by Thomas Bradyll. The Stackhouses are a family who play a prominent part in the history of the Quaker community.

In looking through the Impey MSS. preserved at the British Museum I came across the following passage in a letter written by Impey at Patna on 31st August, 1781.

> "The person who has chiefly been instrumental in setting on foot the complaints against the Court, and who has conceived a violent animosity against me is Col. Watson of the Engineer Corps, and that merely for having been unsuccessful in a cause, the record of which has been transmitted to Kerby and Rooke. Before he courted me with the greatest assiduity, and professed great regard and esteem for me, the whole of which I have great reason to believe was commenced * * * giving a judgment against him he considered, as I suppose, a breach of friendship and * * * * of my invertebrateness. In truth I was sorry to do it, both because I liked the man, who is considered very able, and because the judgment concerned a work, which, if it could have been carried into execution, would have been of great public utility, [although] I verily believe [from] what I have since learnt from men conversant in business of the kind that it was totally impracticable. Creasy was a servant of his, and Hicky,* the attorney who carried over the

* William Hickey, an attorney of the Supreme Court, not Hicky, the Journalist.

petition of the British subjects, was patronised by him. This man is at this time pushing his animosity against me in another way. There is a very low man here of the name of Fay, who had been called to Bar in England, and, therefore, I thought it proper he should be admitted an advocate here. This man, at Watson's instigation, has drawn the paper a copy of which I herewith transmit. He entertains him, as I am informed, in his house, and means to send him to England with the paper. Fay sent it to me in an hand * * * he did not say who were the procurators employing him. Not being in Calcutta, I cannot give the most compleat answers to every part, as I shall hope to do when I am there, and get the materials."

In the Index to my reprint of Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters*, I suggested that Mrs. Fay's "Colonel W. * *" was Colonel Watson. In *Bengal Past & Present* Vol. V. p. 348, I repeated the conjecture: and here at last comes the evidence to turn a reasonable conjecture into an established fact.

Among my notes to Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters* there is one on the subject of he imprisonment of the unfortunate North Naylor which I will venture to quote:—

"The best account of poor North Naylor is that given by Sydney Grier: 'North Naylor was the Company's attorney, who had incurred the displeasure of the Supreme Court by advising Hastings and the Council to resist their high-handed proceedings against the Rajah of Kasi Jara, who was not amenable to their jurisdiction. The aid of the military, when requested by the sheriff to enforce the jurisdiction of the Court, was refused, but the sheriff assembled a force of his own, which broke into the Raja's house and seized his goods. Returning with their spoil, the sheriff's party were met by troops and taken into custody, whereupon the Court retaliated by granting a rule to show cause why an attachment should not issue against Mr. Naylor, and on his refusal to answer interrogatories, he was committed to prison for contempt. At the same time a summons for trespass was issued against the Governor-General and Council, and on their refusal to plead, they were also declared guilty of contempt. The deadlock which ensued was only terminated by the abrupt withdrawal of the plaintiff, Kassinath Babu, in the action against the Rajah and the consequent quashing of the proceedings. Mr. Beveridge, from whose *Comprehensive History of India,* these particulars are taken, says, of course, that Kasinath Babu had been bribed by Hastings to withdraw his suit. Here again, a study of the Miscellaneous Correspondence would have been of advantage, for in February, 1784, Hastings writes to Wheler that Kasinath is begging that his business may be brought to a speedy conclusion. He has a claim on both of them, since he withdrew the case from the Court on Hastings' promise that he would see justice done him. Naylor's release appears to have

come too late, for he was suffering from dysentery induced by the insanitary condition of the Calcutta Gaol.' (*Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, pp. 62-63). If Elijah Barwell Impey, the son and apologist of his father, is to be believed, Naylor was in prison from 1st to 16th March, 1780, and he left the Gaol in very much the same condition in which he had entered it. Mrs. Fay says 'he died in confinement.' This is clearly untrue. Naylor died on 19th August 1780. But Sir Elijah's son gives his whole case away by attempting to prove an *alibi*. 'From the 6th of July 1778 to the 15th March in the following year, my father was with his family at Chittagong, above 316 miles from Calcutta. He was in ill-health, and my mother brought to bed at that place, which will account for so long an absence: and during those seven months, Mr. Justice Hyde presided in the Supreme Court. It was Hyde, therefore, and not the Chief Justice who committed Naylor to prison"— *Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey,* p. 196. This *alibi*, I am afraid, will not stand proof, for in February 1779, Sir Elijah was in Calcutta presiding over the case of *George Francis Grand Esq.* versus *Philip Francis, Esq.* See also *The Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis,* vol. ii., p. 186."

The Home Miscellaneous Collection of the India Office Record Department, No. 146, shows that, not only did Impey himself inflict imprisonment on North Naylor, but he carefully informed the Sheriff that Naylor was to be imprisoned in "the Common Gaol." The Common Jail of 1780 was the old Prison in the Lal Bazar. Here in 1775 Nanda Kumar had been confined and allowed the privilege of living in a tent. From the evidence given by John Shakespear before the "Select Committee appointed to take into consideration the State of the Administration of Justice in the Provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa" (Report. No 1. p. 25), I find that Shakespear,

> "Being asked 'whether it was supposed that Mr. Naylor's death was occasioned or accelerated by his imprisonment,' said: 'He visited Mr. Naylor when he was in prison: he was then complaining and had been ill sometime of a dysentery, but he does not think that his confinement either occasioned or accelerated his death, though his situation was certainly uncomfortable, if not unwholesome. That Mr. Naylor was confined in a tent pitched within the four walls of the prison yard; that the heat was intense, and the place altogether disagreeable; that his wife died some time before him, whilst he was in prison and left one child. That he never heard of any compensation being made to the orphan child of Mr. Naylor, upon the reconciliation of Sir Elijah Impey and the Governor General, for the Sufferings of the father by imprisonment by the Supreme Court, and that the imprisonment of Mr. Naylor was considered a hard measure in that country."

The reader of Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters* will be interested to have before him the following reference to her friend, West, the military adventurer. In their General Letter to Bengal, dated 10th December, 1773, the Directors write :—

> "The person of the name of West, formerly an officer in our service on the Coast, who escaped from the confinement he was under for deserting to Hyder Ally, having since entered the employ of our open and avowed enemy Cossim Ally Khan, and by a proposal made to the Vizier for the total extirpation of the English, manifested the most inveterate malignity to the Company and was a traitorous disposition to his country, we cannot but be anxious to prevent the mischief which a person lost to every principle of honor, may attempt; and, therefore, direct that, if at any time you may be able to secure the said West, you do not fail to send him to England by the first British ship which shall leave Bengal after the apprehending him."

In my last "Leaves" (*Bengal Past and Present* Vol. VII. pp. 221-231), I included some records relative to the famous transactions in elephants by William Makepeace Thackeray, the grandfather of the Novelist. These papers show us that the elephants were despatched from Patna, not as Sir William Hunter (*Thackerays in India*) has it to Belgaum in the Bombay Presidency, but to a much nearer destination—Belgram in Oude.

In the last number of *Bengal Past and Present* appeared a fine portrait of Peter Moore and a less satisfactory portrait of his wife (*neé* Sarah Richmond Webb). It should be noted that Sarah Webb was a sister of Amelia Webb who married Thackeray of Sylhet. Moore, who was for some time a member of the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, and later on Collector of Rangpur, appeared as a hostile witness at the Hastings' Trial on Impeachment. Moore has a place in literary history as the friend and supporter of Richard Brinsley Sheridan and the guardian of Thackeray. As Moore is distinguished by a biographical notice in the *Dictionary of National Biography,* it is unnecessary to sketch his career in this place. The portraits of Moore and his wife were obtained for *Bengal Past and Present* by the kind services of Colonel John Shakespear, the Resident at Manipur. It was through his Webb ancestry Thackeray inherited his inveterate hatred for the great Duke of Marlborough. Lady Ritchie, in her preface to *The Ballads*

and Miscellanies in the Biographical Edition of her father's works, supplies a good deal of interesting matter relative to the Webb girls in Bengal.

Dr. Busteed does not tell us anything about the parentage of the wife of Mr. Justice Hyde. It is of interest, therefore, to note that Mrs. Mary Hyde was a daughter of the Very Rev. Lord Francis Seymour, Dean of Wells, son of the eighth Earl of Somerset. She married John Hyde on 1st September, 1773, and she thus came out to Calcutta as a bride. Hyde died in July 1796, and on the 4th February, 1798, his widow married a Mr. John Payne—probably a relation, as her mother was a daughter of a Rev.—Payne, Rector of Holm Lacy in the county of Hertford. There is a curious and rare instance of a lapse of memory on Dr. Busteed's part on page 101 of the fourth edition of the *Echoes*. The Doctor writes:—

> "Mrs. Fay writing from Calcutta in 1780, says that 'on the first day of every term the professional gentlemen all met at a public breakfast at Mr. Hyde's house, and went thence in procession to the Court House.' Fortunately, the procession had not far to go, as Hyde lived next to the Supreme Court, in a house on the site of the present Town Hall, for which he is said to have paid twelve hundred a month."

As a matter of fact it was not till January, 1782, that the Supreme Court moved to the Esplanade. On January 2nd of that year, Hyde records in his Note Book:

> "We sat for the first time at the New Court House, which has been taken by the Company for the use of the Court at the monthly rent of two thousand five hundred rupees."

The following extract is from a letter addressed by a Mr. William Johnson to his mother in England towards the close of the eighteenth century.

> "We have taken up our residence again in Calcutta in a house where a Club called 'Selby's Club' was once kept, notorious to all gamblers and will never be forgotten by poor John Mackenzie. However as this may not lead you to the precise spot, it is to the Southwards of the Mission or old Kiernander's Church, the next house in the same line on the Southward to General Clavering's which I know you recollect. To conclude our house was built by Mr. Charles Child in 1775. It is an amazing large house, but we do not propose staying on in it beyond December, as we are then in hopes of getting a house, in which in your time Noisy Campbell lived, directly to the north of the new Church, and it opens into the Church yard."

It may be conjectured that the house once occupied by 'Selby's Club" is the house now occupied by the Planters' Stores. The *Bengal Obituary* supplies the following epitaph :—

> Sacred to the memory of CHARLES CHILD ESQ., who departed this life on the 9th of July 1817, aged 99 years and ten months, also Mrs. ELIZABETH CHILD. Obit. 31st July 1822, aged 63 years and 8 months.

"Noisy Campbell" was, I think, the medical man who attended on Sir Elizah Impey. Mr. R. C. Sterndale, who had an unique knowledge of historical deeds of conveyance, in a popular lecture stated :—

> "The present Mission Row is stated to have been the Rope Walk. but it is not mentioned in any of the conveyances of property, and they are many in this locality, by any designation except 'the road past the General's house."

Mr. Sterndale hazarded the conjecture "it is probable that there was no general naming of the streets till the town improvements were undertaken under the auspices of the Lottery Committee." Colonel Mark Wood's Map of 1784-1785, however, clearly shows Mission Row and its name.

Mr. Sterndale, in the lecture referred to, said:

> "James Philip Lyon, who was murdered together with Ellis, Hay and others at Patna [1763], was the second son of Thomas, eighth Earl of Strathmore of Glannis. More than twenty years ago. I met in Upper Bengal two old gentlemen—twin brothers—whose similarity of habits, modes of thought, voice, feature, and costumes were the source of amusement to their acquaintances, who bore the distinctive family names of Thomas and Patrick Lyon, and the elder of whom claimed to be the rightful Earl of Strathmore."

A letter signed by J. P Lyon (misprint of T. P. Lyon), reporting the murder of Peter Amyatt was given in *Bengal Past and Present* Vol. VI, p. 245. Mr. Sterndale in his lecture stated:

> "In 1761, Peter Amyatt, at that time Collector of Collector * * * * allotted to himself 285 biggahs of land in the parish of Chitpore at a rent annually of less than one rupee per biggah; while Mr. George Vansittart obtained about 632 biggahs of land in Dhee Birjee—that is, the block now lying between Middleton and Short Streets, Chauringhee and Circular Roads. A portion of this was afterwards sold to Mr. Short. The rent was Rs. 789 per annum, redeemable at fifteen years' purchase, say Rs. 12,000 for the entire holding."

The following extracts from the Private Diary of Colonel A. Champion (India Office, Home Miscel. No. 198) contains several items of interest :

1765. Feb. 16.—Had the pleasure to breakfast with Mr. Spencer* at Belvidere. Our conversation was chiefly regarding to the new Fort, and in what manner it was best to secure it from the rapidity of the stream. It was thought necessary to throw 2 piers north and south of it, so as to break the strength of the tides, which sets directly in on it, and gains considerable ground yearly.

Feb. 18.—Early this morning I set out for Barrasut with Mr. Penning. The Country appears extremely pleasant.

Feb. 20.—As we form but one party by turns, the evening was spent at Mr. Burdett's. This morning was out hunting, found plenty of game.

Feb. 21.—This evening I engaged Mrs. Amyatt and Miss Woolaston and family to come to Barasut on Tuesday and stay a day or two.

Feb. 23.—Was out early a hunting and had excessive fine sport.

March 28 to 30.—Remain'd at Barasut and had the pleasure of Mrs. Amyatt and Miss Woolaston's Company with the rest of their family. A more agreeable party I never was on. I wrote to Genl. Carnac. This morning I return with the Ladys to Chitpore, and it being much pleasanter than town I propose to remain here a few days.

April 4. Early this morning Mr. Amyatt's family with Mr. Spencer and Council came over to Barasut to remain a few days.

April 16. In the evening by Mrs. Amyatt's request I went with her to Dumm Dumma to W. Leycester's.

May 4. In the evening I took leave of Mr. Spencer and the Gentlemen in Council, and immediately went to Chitpore and stay'd the remainder of the evening with Mrs. Amyatt's family.

June 21. Patna. Mr. Billers and Col. Barker dined at my quarters and number of other gentlemen. We were very merry and the conversation was kept up for many hours. Saluted the Col. with 15 guns. I joked with Mr. Billers often on his appearing so very melancholy at times, and in his cups he told me of several things which were the cause; but all this day he was remarkably chearfull.

June 22. I went to Patna and spent the day with Mr. Fullarton, and in the evening I went with the Col. to pay my respect to all the Ladys. At one noon word was brought us that Mr. Billers had wounded himself in the side and that immediate assistance was wanted.

* John Spencer, acting Governor of Fort William, afterwards Governor of Bombay.

Very soon a confirmation came that he had murdered himself on his sword: after he had made 13 wounds, 3 of which was very deep, the last stab the sword broke within him, and went through his heart. The cause of this melancholy accident is not known. It's most surprising that he seemed to be chearfull all the morning. He called for dinner and it was putting on the table. He went into his room, and, without shutting the doors or taking the least precautions to being prevented, he committed this horrible act of violence. A funeral party was ordered of a Captain and 50 ranks and file and 15 half minute guns. There is not one Gentleman of the Factory that does not seem pleased at his untimely end, for they complain heavily of his acts of oppressions to the country people and the treatment of them. Not one of them have been on speaking terms with him for this month past. He has been solely guided by one Mr. Hutchinson, which has been the cause entirely of this misunderstanding amongst them. Time may possibly shew the cause. He had sent to the Military and Civil Gentlemen a publick invitation to celebrate the anniversary of Plassey Day.

[*Calcutta.*] *1765, Dec. 16.* The French and Dutch Governor is this day expected down, with many Gentlemen and Lady's from both Settlements, who are invited to a Toldongo given to celebrate the peace with Sujah Dowlah etc., etc.; late in the evening they arrived and landed at Chitpore.

„ *Dec. 17.* The mornings are excesive (*sic*) cool and pleasant. At sunrise the French and Dutch Governors were saluted with 20 guns.

Dec. 18.—The whole town assembled at the New Fort to see a fight between a Tyger and a Buffaloe, an Elephant and Rhinoseras and 2 Camels. A large square place with huts being made, and Buffaloes with their riders were put in, and afterwards a Tyger loose, who did not attempt to seize one of the Buffaloes. One of the Buffaloes ran at him first, after which there was little or no sport. They then set loose a very large Royal Tyger, but he, being hurt in his hind quarters, was rendered useless. However the animal behaved with a noble spirit, and did his utmost. The Buffaloe, by being led on to the beast, attacked furiously, and would lift up and gorge the Tyger, and threw him over his head with the greatest ease. As there was no opposition, it afforded but little sport or pleasure, the Tyger being at last killed; and, being late, the Company broke up, Camels were brought and fought, they seize chiefly by each other's legs, but it affords no diversion. An

Elephant which had been prepared for a battle, ran wild and endeavoured to force the square. As great numbers of people were about it, 7 were killed. When he found he could not accomplish his design, he then ran thro' a garden wall, and lifted the roof of a house; and, had not his rider behaved well, he would have brought it to the ground. As the Rhinoseras could not be moved, there was no battle.

Dec. 19.—There was a Public Dinner where there were over 200 gentlemen and in the evening a ball, when 37 couples stood up. At midnight the fire-works began to play, and the whole appeared very elegant. The Company broke up at 4 in the morning.

Dec. 20.—At ten this morning notice was given by his Lordship that he intended an Elephant fight. When the whole town assembled, two large Elephants, with each a female were brought out on the plain with . . . . their riders on, when they furiously met each other; and after an established struggle, they began and made the second assert, and one of them was freely lifted up from the ground and had never fallen. If once they are thrown, they are immediately killed by the other trampling on them. One soon after ran away. It's remarkable that the beast defends his rider so that he never comes to harm. This day I spent with Mr. and Mrs. Sumner.

1766. Jan. 8 and 9.—Received advice of 4 gentlemen being on their passage from Madras with the intention of being received on this Establishment as Councillars. I labour under uneasiness and struggling of mind whether to stay here or go home, nor can I fix firmly what to do. I had some intentions of proceeding to China with Captain Brook in the *Speak*, in order to get my money home the better.

Jan. 10 and 12.—The whole set of civilians here seem greatly discontented at his Lordship's treatment in calling those 4 Servants from Madras, and will remonstrate to the Company at home. Although it is an urgent proceeding and an arbitrary and violent act, yet I do not pity them, as they had no little pity in my case.

Jan. 13.—His Lordship invited many civilians, but none would accept of his invitation.

Jan. 15.—Dined at General Carnac's, where no Civilian was present.

Jan. 16 to 21.—For some days past, my time has been chiefly spent with General Carnac at Chitpore, Dum-Dum, etc. Mr. Majendie was suspended the Service by the Board for not giving them information of the Remonstrance which the Compy's Servants in General have signed. At present there is great confusion in the Settlement and many scurrilous letters passing to and from the Board.

Feb. 6.—Left town for Europe the following Gentlemen, Hardwick, Wederburn, Sutherland, G. Gray, Leycester and Mrs. Leycester, The latter of these Gentlemen paid no compliments to his Lordship or any other of the Select Committee on parting from Town, except Mr. Sumner, who has decented (*sic*) from his Lordship's opinion in almost every case: On which account they are taking every opportunity for a cause against him. Mr. Sumner on all public occasions is treated with great disrespect and ill manners, so much does party prevail.

Some accounts have this day come of the 4 Gentlemen from Madras being in the River. George Gray was yesterday obliged to file Bail for 10,000 to his Banyan, who is now confined by Lord Clive and by him was compelled to this act to throw a greater odium on Mr. Gray—a shamefull and mean revenge.

Feb. 10.—Early this morning Mr. and Mrs. Amyatt left Town for Europe.

The Amyatts mentioned in the above extracts from Colonel Champion's Diary were James Amyatt and Maria his wife. Mrs. Amyatt was the widow of the murdered Peter Amyatt, and she was by birth a Miss Maria Woolaston. The Marriage Registers at St. John's (see *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. IV. p. 492) show that on November 7th, 1765 a Miss Elizabeth Woolaston (*sic*) married General John Carnac. James Amyatt was a sea captain, and, I believe, after his retirement from India, became member of Parliament for Southampton.

The following is an extract from an unpublished letter of Lord Clive.

PLASSEY,
2nd April, 1766.

[TO H. VERELST.]

DEAR SIR,

I am now to acknowledge the receipt of your three letters, the last dated 30th March, enclosing one from Mr. Palk.

We have made a halt at this place. Yesterday the Nabob entertained us with a Tyger fight. The animal was infinitely more fierce than either of the tygers at Calcutta. This diversion (as is generally the case) ended very tragically—no less than 3 men were killed by the buffaloes, and Philpott tells me one of them made a stroke at him.

In the Volume on Eastern Bengal and Assam in the Provincial Series of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, it is stated (p. 249) that English Bazar

(Malda) "being an open elevated site on the river bank in a mulberry-growing country.....was chosen in 1676 as the site of one of the Company's silk factories." It may be assumed that this statement rests on the following passage in Streynsham Master's Diary.

> [1676] "October 14, Mr. Master being informed by some of the Councell well experienced in these parts that Maulda (a Towne a dayes Journey from Rajamaull on the other side Ganges, where the Dutch have lately built a ffactory) is a place where great quantityes and varietyes of coarse goods proper for Europe are made and procured, as cossaes, hummums, mulmulls, alatches, sushees, and many other sorts very cheape.
>
> "And having a direction in his Commission and instructions * * * * did thereupon propose to the Councell, that there might be a sume of 4 or 500 rupees layd out in Samples of 5 : or 6 pieces of each sort of goods procurable at Maulda, to be sent home by this yeares-ships.
>
> "To which the Councell agreed."

The phrase "on the other side of the Ganges" may perhaps be explained by the fact that in Seventeenth Century Geography India was divided into "India intra Gangem" and "India extra Gangem." As Peter Heyleyn has it, "India *Intra Gangem* is bounded on the East with the river Ganges till the fall thereof into the sea."[1] Malda, therefore, would belong to *India extra Gangem*, or, as Master puts it, would be "on the other side Ganges." Sir Henry Yule, however, does not distinguish between Malda or "Old Malda" and English Bazar or Angrezābād.

In the October following Master writes (at Kasim Bazar), "Mr. Richard Edwards, being now goeing with the Honourable Companyes treasure to the mint at Rajamaull, it is thought fitt that, as soone as he shall put that business in a good forwardness, he doe make a set to Maulda to lay out the same in all sorts of goods before mentioned, and to inform himself well of the manner of trade in the place, and to give the Councell an account thereof in writing * * * And, by reason of Mauldas near sittuation to Rajamaull, the Councell are of opinion (if it shall be thought fitt to settle a Factory there) that it will be a great convenience to the Honourable Companyes affairs to consigne the treasure (which is usually sent hence to Rajamaull) to that Factory to be minted and sould under their charge and care." In a letter, dated 6th

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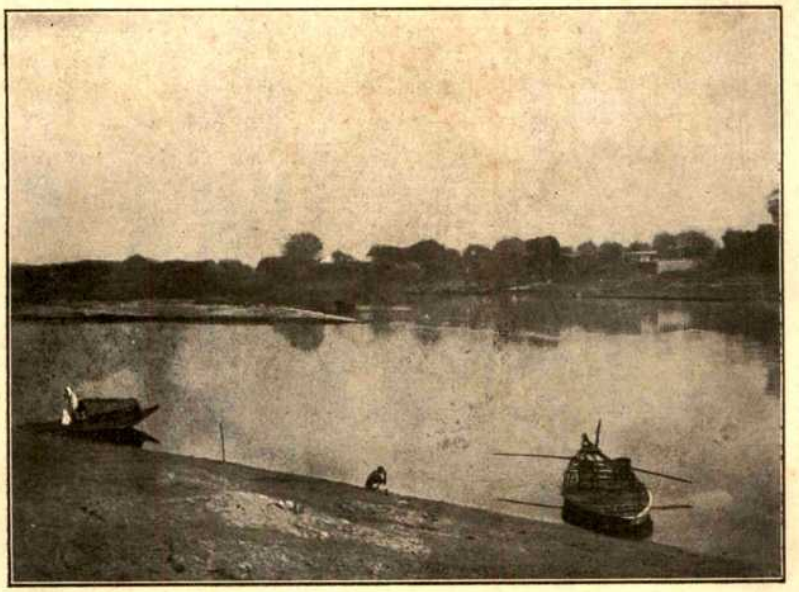
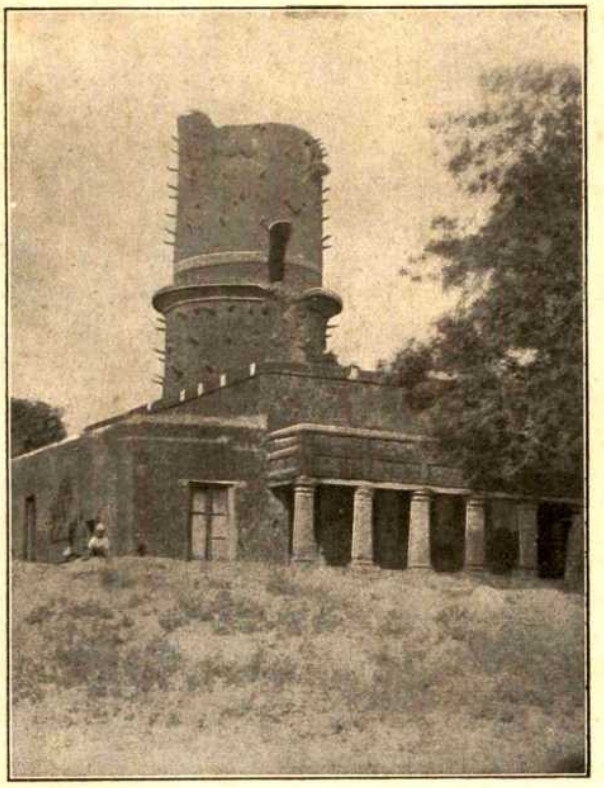
* Yule: *Diary of William Hedges Esq.* (Haklyut Society) Vol. II, p. ccxxxv.

[1] *Bengal Past and Present* Vol. II, p. 48.



OLD MALDA SEEN ACROSS THE RIVER.



MALDA: THE TOWER OF NIMA SARAI.
(XVth Century)

hotos by W. K. Firminger.

December 1676, Edwards gives an account of Malda, and the reader will find this account in Sir Richard Temple's recently published edition of the *Diaries of Streynsham Master* (Vol. 1, p. 399).

The passages referred to show that in 1676 no commencement of a permanent factory had been commenced either at Malda or the place afterwards known as English Bazar. During my last furlough, I consulted the ancient factory Records of Malda, and at once discovered that the factory was not commenced till 1680. The Records commence on April 22nd, 1680 and on the proceedings of that day it is recorded: "Mr. Fytch Needham, designed chief of this new factory and Mr. Jonathan Prichman 3rd, and five others belonging to his Worship arrived at Mirzapore in sight of Malda. where the Dutch meeting us at the waterside came on board his Worship ['s] budgaroe, who, after some discourse, our tent being pitched came on shore to Maulda to hire a house for our residence till our factory shall be built but could meet with none fitting." On the 24h, we read "Hyred a house in town of Maulda being appartements one at 7 rs. one at 4¾, the other at 1½ per month." The place was "of brick, but being much out of repair, and the rooms being for blackness and darkness more like dungeons than dwelling houses."

In December, 1680, it is recorded: "Haveing divers times attempted and used our utmost endeavours to buy the ps. of ground pitched upon by the Worshipful Matthias Vincent when here (upon good termes) in view, at length Rajaray Chowdry invited us to goe and see a piece of his land lying on the other side the River about 2 little miles distant from Malda which we liked; and, after many consults and treaties, we came to an agreement with him, and this day our papers for the said ground bought of Rajaray Chowdry at Mucdumpore was finished, haveing the Cauzees[1] chops and Congoyes[2] and divers other witnesses to them. It is the highest land thereabouts and lyeth pleasantly and conveniently by the river side which runs there almost due South. The extent of our ground by the river is eight begaes and into the landward seaven begaes (which makes the whole a long square), each begae qts eighty large Coveds of nine nailes of an English yard. It is judged very convenient to take soe much ground or more, if it might have been had, that too many of the natives thatched houses doth not choake us nor endanger the Honble. Companyes factory (ordered to be built) by fire, etc., by which meanes in other their residences sad effect has been produced. For the above said ground Rajaray is now paid 300 Rupees, not but that the ground is really worth more than double that sume, but because at this time he is in great want of money to pay the

[1] Qazi's. [2] Qanungoe's.

King's Officer his yearly rent, and in danger, if it be not paid, and for that he is in hopes that by our comeing his village may in time become a citty, as it is not unlikely, for it stands exceeding well and in the middle of divers great towns of trade where are many great and grevious imposts put upon the people, and their goods (which is not in this place), which noe doubt will invite many be our neighbours." The entry concludes: "We have this day alsoe delivered him Rupees. 300 to bring us works hither. He is only to be allowed the charges bringing them from Gower[1] in time of the rains by water which is not far off then, and the works he gives us for nothing, and stone also he promises at that rate what shall have our occation for which hope will make our building much the cheaper."

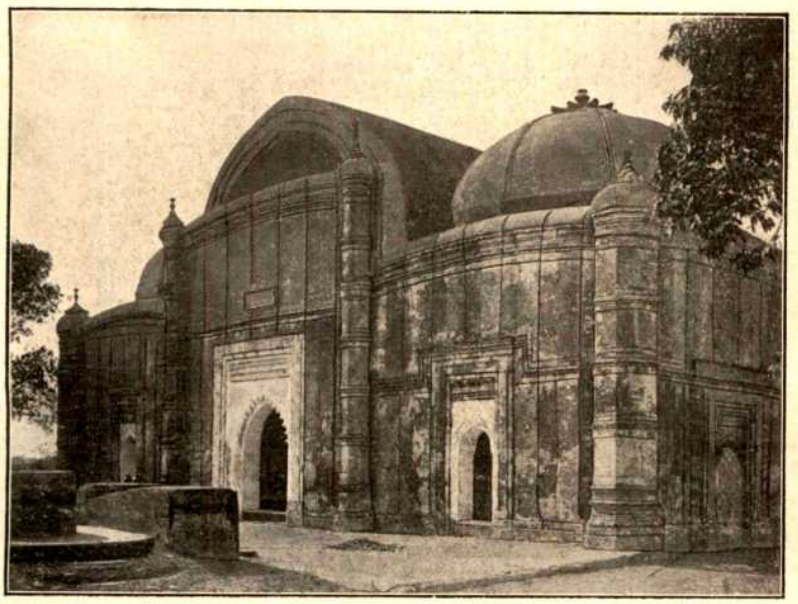
In an article contributed to the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for July 1909, Mr. Monmohan Chakrabarti writes that Malda (*i. e.* "Old Malda") was "fortified with gates and had inside a high-walled *Kátrá* or fortified caravanserai for the better protection of valuable goods. It had risen in importance during the Huseni rule, the *Phuti* (cracked) mosque north of the *Kátrá* having been built in the reign of Husen Shāh, according to its inscription, dated 11th Shawal, 900 H. (5th July, 1495 A. D.). It might have begun to flourish still earlier, if the loose inscription kept in a tumb near the *Kátrá* really belonged to the place; for this inscription records the erection of a mosque by one Hital in the reign of Mahmud Shah, and is dated 19th Sha'ban, 859 H. (4th August, 1455. A. D.)" My friend, Abid Ali Khan, identifies the site of the Kātrā with the place at which Firoj Shāh encamped in 1353, when on his way to beseige Panduah.[2] The old brick tower at Nimasarai, on the tomb opposite to old Malda with its projecting stones shaped like elephant's tusks is another object of interest in the neighbourhood.

In the volume of the *Imperial Gazatteer* referred to, it is stated that at English Bazar "the residence of the Civil Surgeon was formerly a Dutch Convent." That the Dutch established a "convent" in Bengal does not on the face of it appear to be very likely.

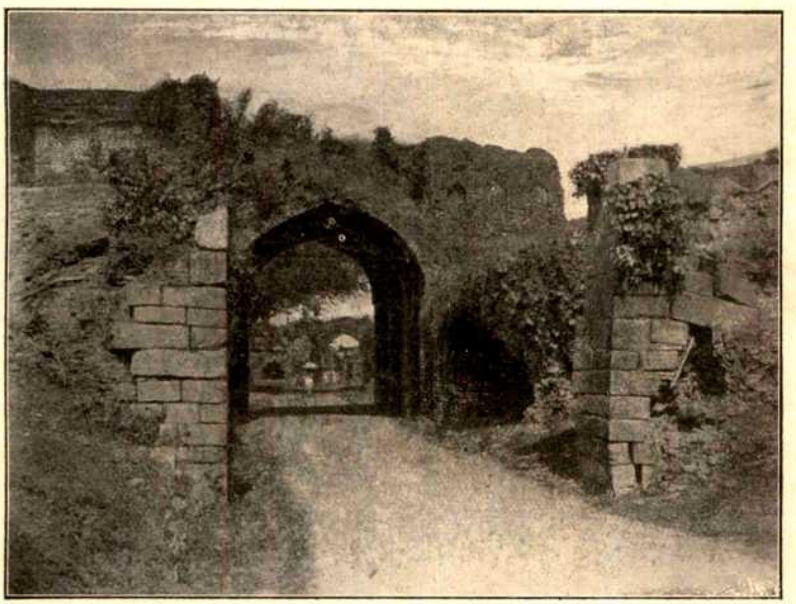
The work that has been achieved in preserving the remains of Gaur and Panduah for the future should not pass altogether without record in the pages of *Bengal Past and Present,* although it is not possible at the

[1] Gaur.

[2] Abid Ali Khan: *Short Notes on the Ancient Monuments of Gaur and Pandyah.* p. 35. See *Riyaz-us-Salatin,* (Asiatic Society of Bengal Translation) p. 100.



MALDA. THE JAM'-I-MASJID. A. D. 1596.



MALDA. THE KATRA OR FORTIFIED KARAVANSARAI.

Photos by W. K. Firminger.

present time to devote to the subject the space which it deserves. To Lord Curzon Bengal is indebted for the inception of the work, and the officers of the Archæological Department are to be congratulated on the success of their endeavours. In Abid Ali Khan, the Subdivisional Officer of the P. W. D. the ruins have found a learned and faithful custodian, and forthcoming work on the ruins of Gaur and Panduah will no doubt stimulate a new interest in the remains of these ancient capitals. Our Society has visited the Panduah near Burdwan, and the carvings of the ruined mosque at that place afford specimens of what may be found in rich abundance both at Gaur and the greater Panduah. The magnificence of the Adinah Masjid, ruined though it be, altogether surpasses expectation.

ST. JOHNS' HOUSE, CALCUTTA.
7th March, 1914.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

Walter Landor Dickens.

I was fortunate to be the means of the re-discovery of the lost grave of Walter Landor Dickens in Alipur cemetery the day before I left Calcutta for England after many years' residence at that place. The circumstances of the discovery appeared in the *Englishman* of 23rd December 1910 on the morning of my departure, and subsequently in *Dickensian*. A photograph of the grave was also published in the *Sphere* of 15th April 1911. I recently offered others, taken in my presence on the morning of the find, to Mrs. Perugini, who very gratefully accepted them. I frequently meet her, and know that the memory of "Wally," the playmate of her childhood, is still fragrant to the only surviving daughter of Charles Dickens.

Walter Landor, fourth child and second son of the Novelist, was born in Devonshire Terrace on 8th February 1841. Forster has not a little to tell of him in the 'Life' and from that work and other sources have been gathered the following particulars of the engaging personality of the young officer.

The days before his birth were filled with anxiety. "I have been looking" (writes Dickens) "(three o'clock) with an appearance of extraordinary interest and study at *one leaf* of the 'Curiosities of Literature' ever since half past ten this morning—I have n't the heart to turn over." On 29th January, (on the arrival of better news) "I didn't stir out yesterday, but sat and thought all day; not writing a line; not so much as the cross of a t or dot of an i. I imaged forth a good deal of 'Barnaby' by keeping my mind steadily upon him, and am happy to say I have gone to work this morning in good twig, strong hope and cheerful spirits. Last night I was unutterably and impossible-to-form-an-idea-of miserable". The 7th saw the Father's birthday on which occasion he and Forster indulged "in a snug dinner in the study," though as the latter says "the troubles were not over." On the 9th Dickens writes, "thank God, quite well. I am thinking hard and have just written to Browne ("Phiz") enquiring when he will come and confer about the raven." "Grip," a raven of real life, appears in a portrait group by Daniel Maclise in 1842 of Dickens' four children of which two are Mrs. Perugini and "Wally". An earlier "Grip" had died on 12th March 1841, and his "apotheosis" is the subject of another well-known picture by the same artist; the "Grip" of the group replacing him in the family affections and the family stable.

Walter Savage Landor came from Bath to stand as god-father, and the infant, who was to have been christened "Edgar" ("a good honest name I think") was named "Walter Landor" instead—a name "of which he might

be proud" and by reason of its bestowal the child might be induced to do "nothing unworthy or untrue when he came to be a man." "To call him so would do his own (the father's) heart good." As to Dickens, "whatever realities (writes Forster) had gone out of the ceremony of christening, the meaning still remained in it of enabling him to form a relationship with friends he most loved."

It will thus be seen that the memory of Walter Savage Landor is associated with two Calcutta graves,—Rose Aylmer's (she died in 1800) being the older, and W. L. Dickens'.

"Young skull" as Walter was dubbed by his father (his cheek bones being high), when only six years of age, was "horribly maltreated," because he had averred that from Broadstairs he had seen a ship sink on the Godwins; which assertion was afterwards confirmed and proved to be true. In 1853 he was described "as a very good boy * * home from school with honourable commendation and a prize * * a great favourite with the whole house and one of the most amiable boys in the boy world. He comes out on birthdays in a blaze of shirt-pin"—a present of Landor. The most amiable boy also, it seems, once passed a Sunday in solitary confinement on a diet of bread and water in a bath-room, for "terminating a dispute with his nurse by throwing a chair in her direction." Possibly he had his own version of the affair to offer at the time, of this narrative no record remains. Later Miss Burdett Courts is informed that Walter "will be eligible to go up for his India examination soon after next Easter. Having a direct appointment he will probably be sent out soon after he has passed and so will fall into the strange life up the country before he well knows he is alive and what life is—which indeed seems to be rather an advanced state of knowledge." Forster speaks of the youth as "never forfeiting the claim to these kind paternal words—he had the goodness and simplicity of childhood to its close."

The "direct appointment," apparently secured by the influence of Miss (the Baroness) Burdett Coutts, was a military cadetship under the East India Company, leading to the recipient at 16 years of age becoming an Ensign in the 26th Native Infantry and his departure from England in July 1857.

Before his arrival in India the Sepoy Revolt had decimated the 26th, and, at 18, Walter became a Lieutenant attached to the 42nd Highlanders, the Black Watch. A somewhat unflattering portrait of him in uniform and with a sword appears in the latest (illustrated) edition of the "Life."

"Panic Sunday" had become but a blurred memory in Calcutta when the home-going young officer went into hospital there, his leave to England earned. He died in the Military Hospital, south of the maidan, of hæmatemesis (thus the medical certificate), and his funeral service was conducted by the Rev. J. Cave-Brown, Junior Chaplain of St. Paul's Cathedral. His medical attendant

was Brigade-Surgeon Major R. W. Carter M.D., a Crimean and Mutiny officer, to whom fell the duty of sending the sad news to the grief-stricken father. The Novelist received the tidings on his own birthday in 1864 and acknowledged the communication in a "long and affectionate letter."

The grave is situated about the middle of the second block to the left of the principal gateway, only one pathway coming between it and the boundary wall. The stone as I saw it lay embedded in a masonry platform and bears the following inscription from the pen of the Novelist inscribed by the orders of Dr. Carter.

In memory of
Lieut. Walter Landor Dickens
the second son of
Charles Dickens
Who died
At the Officer's Hospital, Calcutta,
On his way home on sick leave
December, 31st 1863.
Aged 23 years

This epitaph, closing the short story of a short life, is one of the less known writings of a great master of short stories. Walter Landor Dickens died in Alipore just a week after William Makepeace Thackeray, whose infancy was passed in Alipore, expired in Kensington.

Both Dickens and Thackeray had but a superficial knowledge of the Anglo-Indian world. Both were obsessed by the conventional ideas of their day of Anglo-Indian characters. At the moment, however, I can only recall one direct reference in a Dickens' novel to Calcutta. "many a man in Mr. Pecksniff's place, if he could have dived through the floor of a pew of state and come out at Calcutta * * would have done it instantly." ('Chuzzlewit', Chap. xxxi).

A few days before my final leave taking I had visited the cemetery to look for the last time for the lost stone, and at day break on the morning before sailing the news reached me of its discovery as the direct result of my urgent enquiries. An aged Bengali had remembered seeing a number of sahibs standing round a grave in a certain part of the cemetery in the sixties. A close search by lantern light had followed and the stone lay revealed. Weeds and debris brushed aside, the havoc of earthquake, sun and rain had yielded to the searchers, and disclosed the hidden secret of the years.

WILMOT CORFIELD.

The Secretary's Notes.

DURING the last three years—1911-1913—while the operations of the Calcutta Historical Society were in abeyance, we have lost by death the following members.

PATRONS.

Lord Avebury.
Sir Edward Baker.
H. H. Sir Nripendra Narain Bhup of Kuch Behar.
Raja Benoy Krishna Deb.
Sir Francis Maclean.
Lord Minto.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Sir A. A. Apcar.
Mr. James Luke.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

Dr. H. E. Busteed.
Mr. Hari Nath De.
Mr. W. Irvine, I.C.S.
Mr E. W. Madge.
Mr. A. Lockhart-Smith.
Major C. J. R. Milne, I.M.S.
Mr. Durga Das Seal.
Mr. P. C. Mojumdar.
Mr. C. W. McMinn, late I.C.S.

The late Sir Francis Maclean was the first President of the Calcutta Historical Society. When the promoters of the Society approached him in 1907 with the view to making him their President, they received a very sympathetic response from him, and so long as he remained here as the Chief Justice of Bengal, he took a lively interest in its welfare. Much of the success which attended the Society in its beginning was due to his presence at its meetings. The late Mr. James Luke, the "Max" of the *Capital*, was one of the most prominent members of the Society and was associated with it from its birth. His death is a very sad loss to the Society. The late Mr. E. W. Madge was one of the founders of the Society. His extensive knowledge of Anglo-Indian history in general and his unrivalled acquaintance with the annals of his own community

in particular, were of great help to the Editor of *Bengal Past and Present* with whom he was very closely connected from the inception of the journal. His death is an irreparable loss to the Society and its journal. The late Dr. H. E. Busteed and Mr. W. Irvine took much interest in the welfare of the Society's journal and occasionally helped its editor with their contributions. The Society's journal has lost two of its most valued supporters by their death. The late Mr. P. C. Mojumdar, author of the *Musnad of Moorshidabad*, was most helpful to the members of the Society when the Moorshidabad and Plassey excursions were undertaken. In 1907 when the Society was started, the late Lord Minto was Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and his Lordship showed his sympathy with the objects of the Society by becoming one of its Patrons.

One of our Life-members, the Venerable William Holden Hutton, B. D., of St. John's College Oxford, now Archdeacon of Northampton, has been recently appointed by the University of Oxford to be Reader in Indian History in succession to the late Mr. Sidney James Owen. In his inaugural address delivered before the University on January 20th last, he has paid a great compliment to the Society and its Journal :

"The Calcutta Historical Society of which I was a member from its beginning in 1907 to its conclusion (almost immediately after I had compounded as a life-member) in 1911, printed some highly valuable papers, the result of considerable research, in seven volumes which it issued of *Bengal Past and Present* The enthusiasm and industry of its editor, Mr. Firminger, now archdeacon of Calcutta, deserve the highest praise. It is much to be hoped that he may be able before long to revive the Society which was doing such good historical work."

I have not seen anywhere in print the earliest proceedings of the Government of Bengal with regard to the foundation of the Benares Sanskrit College the second great institution founded by the Hon'ble East India Company for the education of the people of India. As the earliest documents regarding the foundation of the Calcutta Madrassa appear elsewhere, it is becoming that the earliest proceedings of the Government regarding the great sister institution founded by Jonathan Duncan should appear simultaneously in *Bengal Past and Present*. Here they are reproduced in full :

To

No. 17
Benares Resident dated 1st January 1792

EARL CORNWALLIS, K. G.
Governor-General in Council

MY LORD,—Having in view to the surplus Revenue expected to be derived from the permanent settlement (as reported in my address of the 25th November

1789) and of the instructions thereon passed by your Lordship in Council in February last to transmit for the consideration of Government my sentiments regarding its appropriation reflected frequently on the subject; it appeared to me that a part of those funds could not be applied to more general advantage or with more local propriety than by the Institution of Hindoo College or Academy for the preservation and cultivation of the Laws, Literature and Religion of that nation, at this centre of their Faith, and the common resort of all their Tribes.

Two important advantages seemed derivable from such an Establishment, the first to the British name and nation in its tendency towards endearing our Government to the native Hindoos; by our exceeding in our attention towards them and their systems, the care shewn even by their own native Princes; for although Learning has ever been cultivated at Benares, in numerous private seminaries, yet no public Institution of the kind here proposed ever appears to have existed; to which, may, in a considerable degree, be attributed the great difficulty of now collecting complete Treatises (although such as are well known to have existed) on the Hindoo Religion, Laws, Arts, or Sciences; a Defect and Loss, which the permanency of a college at Benares must be peculiarly well adapted to correct, and recover by a gradual collection and correction of the Books still to be met (though in a very dispersed and imperfect state) so as with care and attention and by the assistance and exertions of the Possessors and students to accumulate at only a small and comparative expence to Government, a precious Library of the most ancient and valuable General Learning and Tradition now perhaps existing on any part of the Globe.

The 2nd principal advantage that may be derived from this Institution will be felt in its effects more immediately by the Natives, though not without being participated in by the British subjects, who are to rule over them, by preserving and disseminating a knowledge of the Hindoo Law and proving a Nursery of future Doctors and Expounders thereof, to assist the European Judges in the due, regular, and uniform administration of its genuine Letter and spirit to the body of the people.

These and other similar considerations rendered me desirous of proceeding immediately after the receipt of the Board's orders of February 1790 to take measures preparatory to the intended Institution in the confidence that I had every prospect of obtaining the Sanction of Government to a measure that appeared not unworthy of the patronage of a liberal and distinguishing administration, but as owing probably to the general state of war in which India has been of late involved, the contingent parts of the Revenue of Benares (viz. the Customs) were likely to fall considerably short during 1198 Fussily of what they had amounted to in the year preceding, I was deterred from an apprehension of a deficiency of funds at the end of the year, to pay up the

Company's full Jumma from entering for that season on the proposed Establishment and did therefore determine to defer it till the beginning of the current year; when (even allowing for an equal Defalcation in the Custom House collections) from the improving state of Land Revenue according to the annual increase on the few first years of the permanent settlement the amount of which had during the first two of those years of trial been realized, the surplus at the close of 1199 or September 1792, must, I concluded, be more than sufficient to defray any possible expence of this new Establishment.

Having thus long postponed the execution of the proposed plan I had taken measures for beginning it with certainty from the commencement of the Fussily year 1199 or September last, when I was again rendered doubtful from the season having then decidedly turned out so unfavourable, by reason of the Draught, that we were supposed to be in danger of all the consequences of extreme dearth, and even of famine attended perhaps by a heavy loss in the Land Revenue.

These circumstances had well nigh induced me (though reluctantly) altogether to give up the Design; but as the intention had become known and the Professors collected I was on further reflection unwilling to postpone and thereby perhaps altogether to risk a permanent advantage, for a temporary difficulty; so that confiding in that justice and liberality, which I have hitherto so uniformly experienced from the present administration I have ventured to institute and open this academical Institution for which I now beg leave very earnestly to solicit the sanction, support and approbation of Government.

From the enclosed extract of my proceedings, it will be seen that I have limited the expence for the present year to about 14000 Rupees; though to place the institution on a proper footing so as to admit of a sufficient number of students and of the acquisition of a Library, twenty thousand ought I think to be at the least assigned for it, and accordingly there are contained in the accompanying extract two schemes of the Establishment, one on the supposition of the present circumscribed, the other on that of the larger plan last suggested.

As to the funds for defraying this expence, although they may this year be scanty; yet I trust the Board's experience of the more than sufficient general funds of this district for all public or reasonable purposes, will leave no doubt, but that in every common year a much larger amount than twenty thousand Rupees must remain a surplus after paying the Company's Revenue and all charges of collection, including those of the two Moolky adawluts; though were these proposed charges for the college even to be deducted and paid out of the Hon'ble Company's present rental from the Zemindary I cannot (judging from their known liberality in the just and honorable cause of the

advancement of science) doubt that under the recommendation of Government, the Court of Director's sanction would be obtained for the expenditure; for which if any other compensation were required than the good consequences of the Institution I could perhaps point out funds equal thereto; as for instance, the present income from the Mint, which, till of late years, the Hon'ble Company neither claimed nor benefited by, not to mention, the advantages which were last year made from the Discounting of the Bills drawn on this Treasury and the interest on the surplus money lying on it by which alone the Company have in less than twelve months received and may in future (if permitted by Government) realize more than would defray the expence of the college.

The Extract of my Proceedings already referred to contain the few rules which have already been thought of for this Institution, and they are respectfully submitted to Government for such correction or addition as may be thought expedient.

I remain with the greatest respect, &c.,

BENARES,
The 1st January, 1792.

(Sd.) JONATHAN DUNCAN,
Resident.

No. 18 Enclosure.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Resident at Benares dated the 1st December 1791.

Minute of the Institution of a Hindoo College at Benares: Rules for and plan of it.

The Resident having for sometime past had contemplation to effect under the auspices and approbation of Government the establishment at Benares of a College for the cultivation of the Laws, Literature and (as inseparably connected with the two former) the Religion, of the Hindoos, he has in pursuance of this design (which will be in due time reported to Government) chosen a certain number of professors in the principal Hindoo Sciences; and a house having been hired for their reception they met for the first time on the 28th October last, and the Resident made his first visit to the College on the 17th of November, from the beginning of which month it is meant that their establishment shall be considered as having taken place and to be defrayed.

The first idea as to the Establishment and allowances necessary to be fixed for the carrying into effect the purposes of this Institution, was that they must be at least equal to 20,000 Rupees per annum, but for the present it has been thought best till the approbation of Government be obtained, to limit it to within 14,000 Rupees by the year at the utmost; but as it seems probable that this scale of expence may sooner or later be extended, the two Estimates hereafter recorded are therefore rendered applicable to that expectation as well as to the present actual expence and establishment, which is preceded by a short analysis of Hindoo Literature pointing out the several branches of

Science which it will be the object of the Teachers of this Seminary to cultivate, preserve and in time perhaps to improve.

THE ANALYSIS OF LITERATURE FROM THE AGNI PURANA :—EIGHTEEN VIDYAS

Vedas	...	Rigveda	...	3 Theology &c.
		Yajurveda	...	
		Samaveda	...	
		Atharvaveda	...	
Upavedas	...	Ayurveda	...	Medicine, Botany &c.
		Gandharva Veda, *i.e.*,		Musick &c.
		Dhanurveda	...	(Arms)
		Arthaveda	...	Mechanick arts
Vedangas	...	Sicsha	...	9 Ortheopy
		Vyacarana	...	Grammar
		(Ch'handas)	...	Prosody
		(Niructe)	...	12 Sacred Lexicography
		(Calpa)	...	Ritual
		Jyotish	...	Mathematicks
Darsana,	...	Mimansa &c.	...	15 Metaphysicks &c.
		Nyaya &c.	...	Logick &c.
Dherma	...	Smriti	...	Laws
		Puranas &c.	...	18 History Ethicks &c.

Reduced to Nine Vidyas of which there should be Adhyapocas or Lecturers.

Veda—(chiefly the Upanishads) Theology

Ayurveda—Medicine and Natural History

3 Gandharvaveda—Theory of Musick, Lyrick and Drammatick

Vyacaran—Grammar and Prosody and Cavyas

Jyotish—Astronomy, Geography and Pure Mathematicks

6 Mimansa &c.—Vedanta (*a*) Philosophy, Metaphysicks

Nyaya—(*b*) Logic and Philosophy

Dherma Sastra—Law Civil and Spiritual

9 Purana—History, Ethicks, Heroick Poetry &c.

FIRST SUPPOSITION :—20,000Bs. Rs. A YEAR.

Note—the chief Pundit or Mahopadhyaya should teach Theology and have a double allowance.

Allowance.	Per mensem.	Per annum.
Chief 2	... 300	... 3,600
Others $\frac{8}{10}$	... 150 each	... 1,800 each.

(*a*) According to Vyasa &c.

(*b*) According to Gotama &c.

The Senior student or Reader of the *Veda* may also have a double allowance and give lessons to the younger scholars.

	Per mensem.	Per annum.
Senior 2	... 30	... 360
Other $\frac{8}{10}$	... 15 each	... 180

Total expence.

Per mensem.	Per annum.
Bs. Rs. 1650	19,800

The remainder (200) Rupees to be kept to buy Books for the College Library &c., &c.

SECOND SUPPOSITION :—14,066 Bs. Rs. A YEAR.

TEACHERS.

Per mensem.			Per annum.
Chiefs 2	... 200	... ...	2,400
Others 8	... 100 each	... ...	1,200

STUDENTS.

Senior 2	... 20	... ...	240
Others 8	... 10	... ...	120

TOTAL EXPENCE.

Per mensem.	Per annum.
Bs. Rs. 1,100	13,200

The remainder (800) Rupees to buy books and augment the numbers of studentships.

PROPOSED RULES FOR THE COLLEGE.

1. The Governor in Council to be Visitor, and the Resident, his Deputy.

2. The stipends to be paid by the hands of the Resident; but the Pundits to have no concern with the collection of the Revenue.

3. The nine scholars (or eighteen if so many can be supported) to be taught gratis; but no others except a certain number of such poor boys whose parents or kinsmen cannot pay for instruction, all other scholars should pay their respective Teachers, as usual.

4. The Teachers and students to hold their places during the pleasure of the Visitor.

5. Complaints to be first made to the Resident with a power of appealing to the Visitor for his decisions.

6. The professor of medicine must be a Vaidya and so may the Teacher of Grammar, but as he could not teach Panini it would be better that all except the Physician should be Brahmins.

7. The Brahmin Teachers to have a preference over strangers in succeeding to the Headship and the students in succeeding to Professorships, if they shall on examination be found qualified.

8. The scholars to be examined four times a year in the presence of the Resident in all such parts of knowledge as are not held too sacred to be discussed in the presence of any but Brahmins.

9. Each Professor to compose annually to lecture for the use of his students, on his respective Science; and copies of such Lectures as may legally be divulged to be delivered to the Resident.

10. Examinations of the students in the more secret branches of learning to be made four times a year by a Committee of Brahmins nominated by the Resident.

11. The plan of a course of study in each Science to be prepared by the several professors.

12. The students to be sometimes employed in transcribing or correcting books for the use of the College, so as to form in time a perfect library.

13. The discipline of the College to be conformable in all respects to the Dherma Sastra in the chapter on education. The second book of Menu contains the whole system of discipline.

N. B.—The Resident had in regard to the above analyses and proposed Rules, the able assistance of a private friend.

The following is the translation of the 1st Bill presented for the Establishment aforesaid.

State of the Bill for the 1st month of Hindoo College or for November 1791.

	The Principal or Director of the College, Ser Shaster Gooroo Tarcalunkar and Cashinaut Pundit, Inder Bedea Behader at per month	200	0	0
1st.	For the following 8 Professors, 1 Beresher Shesk, Professor or Teacher of the larger Biakurn or that of Paniani and of the Bashia of the Reg Bede	100	0	0
2nd.	Ram Chander Tara, professor or Teacher of Vede and Vedante	100	0	0
3rd.	Rampersaud Turkpunchanan, Professor of the Nyay Shaster	100	0	0
4.	Soobha Sastri, professor of the Meemangsa ...	100	0	0
5.	Gosayne Anund Ghun, Professor of the Pooran and Cubbe Shasters	100	0	0
6.	Luchmy put Jowshee, Professor of the Jatish Shaster ...	80	0	0
7.	Gunganarin Bhutt, Professor of the Boyd Shaster ...	80	0	0
	Rs. ...	860	0	0
8.	Shamanund Bhattacharji son of Cashenauth Professor or Teacher of the Dherm Shaster	100	0	0
	TOTAL RS. ...	960	0	0

Secondly For the following 9 Seshi or students,

1.	Ram Canny of Bengal	15	0	0
2.	Munco Jowshee of Guzerat	10	0	0
3.	Iyram Bhutt Marhatta	15	0	0
4.	Cashinauth Sedhant Bagees	10	0	0
5.	Doorga Churn of Konowja	10	0	0
6.	Gobind Narain of Gour	10	0	0
7.	Hurdoo Jowshee	8	0	0
8.	Munorut Tewary	8	0	0
9.	Gowree Pershaud	10	0	0
	TOTAL FOR STUDENTS RS. ...	96	0	0

Thirdly for Establishment of officers or Servants

1st.	Sehesram Bermcharry for keeping the books, &c. ...	10	0	0
2nd.	Nuncoolaul Koyal as a writer	10	0	0
3rd.	4 Peons	14	0	0
4th.	2 Fraush	6	0	0
5th.	Brahmin to serve water 4	44	0	0
4th.	House rent @ 30/- per month	30	0	0
5th.	Paper Ink, etc.	8	0	0
	TOTAL PER MONTH ...1,138	0	0

The above is to be paid on account from the Treasury, subject of course to the subsequent sanction of Government.*

A True Extract.
(Sd.) JONATHAN DUNCAN,
Resident.

Agreed that the following letter be written to the Resident at Benares.

To

J. DUNCAN, ESQRE.
Resident at Benares

No. 19
To the Resident of Benares.

SIR,—We have received your letter of the 1st instant with its enclosure.

We entirely approve of the plan of the Hindoo College which you have established from the commencement of 1199 Fussly and concur in your sentiments respecting the public benefit that may be expected to result from it; you will limit the expence of the Establishment for the current year to Sicca Rupees 14,000 and in the event of the surplus collection not proving adequate to the payment of the amount you have our sanction to issue the

* The spelling of the original has been kept in tact to draw attention of our readers to the "Sir Roger Douler" sort of transliteration prevalent in those days.

deficiency from your Treasury. If in consequence of the unfavourableness of the past season there should be no surplus collections you will charge the whole expence to the account of Government. From the commencement of the Fussily year 1200, we authorize you to increase the establishment to Sicca Rupees 20,000 per annum, provided upon the arrival of that period you shall be of opinion (of which you will advice us) that the surplus collections will be adequate to the payment of the amount, otherwise you will restrict the expence to the sum authorized to be disbursed in the current year.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 13th January, 1792.

WE ARE &c.

I have acquired after much trouble and expense all the literary remains of that great Bengalee publicist and writer, Dr. Sambhu Chandra Mookerjee, whose biography my esteemed friend, Mr. F. H. Skrine of the Indian Civil Service, published in 1897. His powerful writings as editor of the well-known newspaper, *Reis and Rayyet*, which he founded and conducted with singular ability from 1882 to 1894 when he died, brought him during the last decade of his life into the closest intimacy with such Viceroys as Lords Dufferin and Lansdowne, and Lieutenant-Governors as Sir Auckland Colvin, Sir Steuart Bayley, and Sir Charles Elliott, who corresponded with him on the burning political questions of the day with perfect freedom. Among his papers now in my possession, twenty years after his death, I find several such letters, some of which are of too confidential a nature to be published. But his note-books and diaries are of immense value to the present generation His highly accomplished mind bred up in sumptuous surroundings and with aristocratic tastes find their fullest play in these "leisure-hour" writings, and nowhere does he display more fully his own subtle humour and power of quaint antithesis and apposite quotation than in his note-books and diaries. Occasionally I hope to publish in this place quotations from Dr. Sambhu Chandra Mookerjee's note-books. Here is one:—

When was Sirajuddaula born? He is represented to have been but a boy when he came to the throne. His excesses are palliated by his age. Stewart on the authority of his native chroniclers says that Aliverdikhan who had adopted him, designing him for his succession, placed his grandson by his side on the *Masnud* as his successor in 1753 when the boy was only fifteen years old (*History of Bengal*, quoted by Hunter in *Statistical Account*

of Bengal, IX, 185-86). 'It is stated, however, in Mr. Long's *Records*, of the date August 1752, that the Nawab Sirajuddaula, whom Aliverdikhan had appointed to be his successor, was arrived at Hughli' (Hunter) at the invitation of the Dutch and the French and that the English President and Council waited upon him with presents. The suggestion is that they could hardly have waited upon a stripling of fifteen. This, however, is not an unanswerable argument. It is matter of history that the infant son of Zeinuddin Hossein Khan was invested with a high *mansab* and loaded with titles, not the least of which was the name by which he is known to fame—Sirajuddaula. Aliverdi has trained him from his infancy to be a ruler.

If Stewart be right, the Europeans paid court to a boy of fourteen.

If Sirajuddaula was barely fifteen in 1753, he must have been born in 1739.

There is no where that I see or remember any distinct date of his birth given. From a statement in Gholam Hossein the time may be approximately calculated.

In relating Aliverdi Khan's appointment to the Deputy Government of Behar, the *Siyar* says—'History ought to remark that a few days before this elevation, a grandson was born to Aaliverdiquan from his youngest daughter (247), married to his youngest nephew, Zineddin-Ahmedd quan, and as he had no son of his own, he called him Mirza Mahmud, after his own name, adopted him for his son, and had him educated in his own house. He ascribed to his auspicious birth, that sudden flow of honors, dignities, and favors; and on that account redoubled his affection for him.' Mustapha—I, 306. '(247) His youngest daughter was Amnabegum, who became famous in Moorshidabad, after her husband's death by her amours and gallantry. This Mirza-Mahmud is the same as Badshah Coolyqhan, *alias* Siradj-eddowlah etc.'—note by translator.

So then Sirajuddaula was born a few days before Aliverdi Khan's appointment to Behar. When did that appointment happen? Shyamdhan Mookerjee, author of a short history of Moorshidabad, gives 1729 as the year of Aliverdi's appointment. Where he got the date he does dot say. The same date is given in the useful and interesting compilation, *Historical and Ecclesiastical Sketches of Bengal*, Calcutta 1829. 'Admitted a favourite, he (Haji Ahmed) lifted his brother from one step to another, till, in the year 1729, he obtained for him the Nabobship of Patna, where Ally Verdi Khan soon made himself very powerful; for part by policy etc.'—*H. and E. Sketches*, p. 89. From the style I presume the passage to be from Orme.

Stewart gives the Hijri 1143, which according to him was 1729-30 of the Christian Era, as the year in which Fakheradowla was removed from the Government of Behar, 'and through the influence of Khan Dawan, the

Paymaster General, the Government of that province was again annexed to Bengal, and Sujaa Addeen Khan was, in consequence, ordered to appoint his own deputy to that important situation.' 4to Ed p 420.

Taking the removal of Fakheradowala to have taken place in 1729-30, it is probable that some months elapsed before the Court of Delhi decided upon annexing the office to Bengal or conferring it upon Sujaaddeen Khan and the latter appointed Aliverdi, particularly as there were disputes in his family on the subject. It was not I believe before 1730 that the appointment was made.

[*20th July 1879*] Nothing like history at first hand After all it would seem that Stewart makes no such statement as has been quoted from him by Hunter (see three pages back in this note-book) He distinctly says that 'Serajuddaula was born at the period that Ali Verdi was appointed to the Government of Behar' etc., p 495 (4to Ed) 'This young man in the year of the Hijira 1167 (1753) Ali Verdi Khan declared to be his successor he seated him on the musnud, and having made him the customary offerings and gratulations, obliged all the courtiers and officers to do the same, and from that time suffered him to interfere in the Government of the province and to make a very bad use of his authority.' Stewart, 4to Ed London p 495.

From the above historical fragment of some interest on which our Mahomedan friends may throw much light from their researches in original Persian histories of India and particularly those of Bengal, it appears that the original name of Sirajuddaula was Mirza Mahmud. There is, however, a lapse in this matter in Dr. H. E Busteed's *Echoes from Old Calcutta*—edition of 1908—as he makes this name Murza Muhammed. The name is correctly given in T. W Beale's *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary* London, 1894, p 386

Here is another interesting historical fragment from Dr. Mookerjee's note-book —According to the *Tarikh Mansuri*, itself founded on, among others, the *Tarikh-i-Belgrami*, Serferaj Khan had offended his ministers and grandees by showing extraordinary favours to Syad Diler Ali of Belgrami, raising him and on one occasion presenting him with three elephants and sixteen horses, without doing anything for his three ministers whereby not only were they dissatisfied, but all his servants had had their hopes blasted. Haji Ahmad (brother of Aliverdi Khan) had his own grudge in special in that Serferaj had, against all decency, set his heart upon marrying Farkhanda Begum, daughter of Ataullah Khan and Rabia Begum (the Haji's daughter) to his (Serferaj's) own son, after she had been bethrothed (akta khām-ed.) o Sirajuddaula

COLONEL THOMAS DEANE PEARSE.
From a photograph kindly supplied by
COLONEL HUGH PEARSE D. S. O.
of
A portrait in the Royal Artillery Mess Woolwich.
(By kind permission of the Officers. R. A. Woolwich.)
Photo by Ewart Millar Esq. Rephotographed by Messrs Harrington and Blees.

Jagat Seth had a more grievous grudge. Serferaj had forcibly had brought Jagat Seth's son's bride to the palace to satisfy his curiosity of her surpassing beauty (see the Seth family version in Hunter's Moorshidabad, *Statistical Bengal*). For a banker Jagat Seth's more serious grievance may have been the fact learnt by Ananda Babu* from Syad Kājim Ali. It is this. After his accession Serferaj showed Jagat a *tip* (which he used to wear on his arm) which purported to be a receipt given by Jagat Seth to Moorshid Kuli Khan for a fabulous sum (being the money and effects deposited with the banker) after having enquired the Bazaar *miti* of the day, the ruling rate of interest (was it not rather the rate of exchange that was meant by this enquiry about *miti*?) and asked him what might be the interest on the sum? The answer was—*Eska miti men jan o mal Huzurko tassaddok hāyn.*† Jagat Seth must have been continually in alarm while such a document remained in the Nawab's hands—See Gholam Hossein.

The following volumes have recently been published by the Government of Bengal and are procurable through Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co.

Midnapur District Records, 1760— ... ... Price Rs. 3
Rangpur District Records, 1770—79 ... ... „ „ 3
Proceedings of the Select Committee at Fort William, 1758 ... ... „ „ 1

The above mentioned volumes are edited by the Venerable Archdeacon of Calcutta (W. K. Firminger, B.D.)

An impression from a half-tone block reproduction of a portrait of Colonel T. D. Pearse will be found in the present number. As a memoir of the "Founder of the Bengal Artillery" appeared in several successive numbers of *Bengal Past and Present* it is unnecessary in this place to do more than express our gratitude to Colonel Hugh Pearse for securing for us a photograph of the original portrait, which belongs to the Royal Artillery Mess at Woolwich.

26, SHAMPUKER STREET,
Calcutta, 26th March 1914.

S. C. SANIAL.

* A friend of Dr. Mookerjee of the period when he was minister to the last Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, His Highness Mansur Ali, Faridun Jah.

† In lieu of interest, my life and property I sacrifice for you.

Calcutta Historical Society.

PROCEEDINGS OF MEETINGS.

PROCEEDINGS of the General meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society held on March 6, 1914 at 6 P.M. at the hall of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Park Street, Calcutta.

Present :

The Hon'ble Sir Lawrence Jenkins, KT. K. C. I. E., *in the Chair.*
Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, KT.
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sir H. L. Stephen.
The Venerable Archdeacon of Calcutta (W. K. Firminger, B. D.)
The Hon'ble Dr. Devaprasad Sarvadhikari, M.A., B.L., LL. D.
The Hon'ble Rai Preonath Mookerjee, Bahadur.
Mr. F. H. Stewart, *Sheriff.*
Lt. Col. W. J. Buchanan, I. M. S.
Mr. R. D. Mehta, C. I. E.
„ J. Hart.
„ J. Nahapiet.
„ M. Ghosh, M.A.
„ W. C. Beaumont.
„ A. A. Browne.
„ G. O'Connell.
„ F. Harrington.
„ W. H. Phelps.
„ G. B. McNair.
„ F. C. Scallan.
The Rev. J. Watt.
The Rev. Father H. Hosten, S. J.
Rai B. A. Gupte, Bahadur.
Mrs. R. Stewart.
Mr. S. C. Sanial.

Proceedings commenced with the reading out by the Secretary, Mr. S. C. Sanial, of the following minutes of the proceedings and resolution of the Council on the 27th June, 1911, and 19th February, 1912.

Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Calcutta Historical Society held in the Hall of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on Tuesday the 27th June 1911 at 6-15 P.M.

Present:

The Hon'ble Sir Lawrence Jenkins, *in the Chair.*
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Fletcher.
" " " " Holmwood.
" " " " Stephen.
Lt: Col: J. Lloyd-Jones, I. M. S.
Mr. E. W. Madge.
The Hon'ble Mr. W. C. Madge.
Mr. W. H. Phelps.
Mr. J. C. Mitchell.

1. The minutes of the last meeting of the Council, held on Monday, the 1st of May were read and confirmed.
2. At the request of the Chairman, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Stephen explained to the meeting the terms on which the Asiatic Society Sub-Committee (appointed to look into this subject) thought it possible that their Society would take us over. Namely that our assets would be taken, at a valuation, towards part of the entrance fee of those members of the Calcutta Historical Society wishing to be taken over, and that the balance (probably about Rs. 16) would have to be paid by each member, being so taken over.
3. After some discussion it was decided the above proposition be put before a general meeting to be called for the 17th of July.
4. It was proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Holmwood and seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. W. C. Madge that the membership of the Society be thoroughly revised and that all those in arrears with their subscriptions, should be struck off.

We, the undersigned office bearers of the Calcutta Historical Society deeming it impracticable in the present circumstances to carry on the business of the Society, but believing it inexpedient—in view of a possible reorganisation—that the Society should be dissolved, desire to resign our several offices as from the 1st March next, and agree.

1. That, pending such reconstitution of the Society, as may eventually be determined upon the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Stephen do hold the assets of the Society; and

2. That the above resolution be recorded in the Council meeting book and circulated by the present Honorary Secretary to the members of the Society's Council.

(Sd.) L. JENKINS—*President.*
„ H. L. STEPHEN,—*Vice-President.*
„ A. W. WATSON,—*Honorary Secretary.*
„ J. C. MITCHELL,— „ *Treasurer.*

19th February, 1912.

The President called upon the Venerable Archdeacon to address the meeting.

The Venerable Archdeacon, W. K. Firminger, in responding said there were reasons for believing that if the Historical Society were revived it would prosper. He was inclined to the view expressed by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Stephen at one of their committee meetings that if a society was founded and it did good work for four or five years, it was justified by its good work. If the society made a new start, with the experience gained in the past, it should have a long, useful and continuous future before it. They would remember that in the old days the majority of the members did not live in Calcutta, and as they were mostly residents up-country, they did not derive much benefit from such activities of the Society as the expeditions, etc. But for the journal of the society there would not have been much inducement for them to join it. This was one of the things they would have to remember in the future, and if they wished to retain their up-country members, they must not grudge the expenditure of a large amount of their funds on their journal. Despite the fact that a great deal of the subscriptions had not been collected at the time, the society went into abeyance, it yet had Rs. 500 to its credit. If the Society in 1911 had collected these subscriptions and realised a small profit on the journal he thought they would have at the end of that year had a very considerable credit balance, so that there was, he thought, nothing in their position which would lead to anticipate any financial difficulties. The Committee formed to consider the question of the revival of the society held that the best thing they could do was to get a guarantee fund and start with the production of a new number of *Bengal Past and Present.* That was done, and the sum of Rs. 700 was guaranteed to meet any possible loss in the production of the April number. With this assurance they set to work, and the new number of *Bengal, Past and Present* could be expected within the next three weeks. It would not be such a large number as several they had issued in the past, but nevertheless it would contain about 150 pages with illustrations, and within these limits they could give four numbers every year. With the care exercised the cost had been lessened but when they had

the next issue in their hands they would see that this would not result in any serious loss in either the get-up or the matter of the journal.

Mr. W. H. Phelps here asked the speaker to explain the relations of this society with the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The Venerable Archdeacon explained that they not been taken over by the Asiatic Society as was proposed, owing, he thought, to the difference in subscription: the two societies had not been amalgamated.

Continuing, he said that the legal position was that the Historical Society was merely in abeyance and all that they had to do to revive it was to appoint officers, which it was proposed to do at that meeting.

In referring to the former proposal to have a board of editors for the journal he observed that among those who were appointed on the board was Dr. Dennison Ross, who as they knew had left India permanently. Another of them Mr. H. G. Graves was also about to go Home on furlough, and the Rev. Father H. Hosten found that his duties would prevent him from being a member of the Editorial Committee. Ultimately he found himself left alone. The Committee had, however, given him a most competent assistant editor in Mr. S. C. Sanial. It was an excellent plan to have a committee of five editors, but to do that they would have to alter one of their rules. In conclusion he suggested that if they altered their rules, the subscriptions might be slightly reduced in view of the fact that their journal was sold at the bookstalls at Rs. 5 per number. They should offer inducements to regular purchasers to obtain the journal by becoming members of the society. He moved that the following proceedings of the informal committees which met in December, 1913, and January, 1914, be accepted as acts of this council.

Mr. F. H. Stewart suggested that on revival it should be formed into an All-India Society, which would, he thought, be a practical basis and ensure continuity of existence.

The President pointed out that this suggestion had been considered by the Committee who were of opinion that it was not practicable. But there was no reason why it should not be reconsidered.

The Rev. Father Hosten was of opinion that the present Society had a big field to develop which he thought would still be undeveloped when many of them would be dead and gone. "Our opinion was that our Review should specialize, so that it be understood among scholars that any information required about *Bengal Past and Present* is likely to turn up in the pages of our Review. Bengal is, or was, so large, and it has so long and many-sided a past behind it, that many years must yet elapse before we can expect to have exhausted its history. Only then might there be question of broadening out the scope of our activities, or rather, the Calcutta Historical Society, having then accomplished its purpose, might then go into abeyance for a well-merited

holiday, since there are in existence All-India Historical Reviews, such as the *Indian Antiquary,* and the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and it would be ungracious on our part to substitute ourselves to such time-honoured institutions. Of late years, several Societies have come into existence, like the Punjab Historical Society (Lahore) and the Mythic Society of Bangalore, each of them specializing for a portion of India. Such specializing and division of labour should be encouraged. It awakens local talents and groups them round their natural centre. It would be a pity if we were to encroach on their field, or they on ours. Besides, how could we think of amalgamating such Societies and our own into an All-India Historical Society, when we are at this moment simply struggling to re-affirm our existence as an individual unit in the historical movement? Let us specialize, too; we have about one-fifth of India proper to specialize in. Our membership was, and will be again, larger than that of our sister societies of Lahore and Bangalore. If they can live, how could not we? We ought to be able to command at least as much support and local talent as they."

CONSTITUTION.

On the motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice H. L. Stephen, seconded by the Hon'ble Rai Preo Nath Mookerjee Bahadur the following persons were constituted the Council of the Society for the current year with power to add to their number:—The Hon. Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the Hon. Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan, the Hon. Mr. Justice Stephen, Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, the Hon. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the Hon. Mr. Justice Fletcher, the Ven. Archdeacon W. K. Firminger, the Hon. Mr. J. G. Cumming, Mr. John Davenport, Mr. L. G. Dunbar, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Holmwood, Mr. G. B. McNair, Mr. R. D. Mehta, Mr. W. H. Phelps, Mr. E. W. S. Russell, Mr. G. P. Shelton, Mr. H. A. Stark, the Hon. Mr. W. W. Hornell, Mr. J. B. Crichton, Mr. W. C. Beaumont, Dr. W. Kennedy, Sir E. W. Robinson, Mr. A. F. C. de Cosson, Mr. H. G. Graves, Mr. J. C. Mitchell, the Rev. Father H. Hosten, S. J., Mr. F. H. Stewart, Sheriff of Calcutta, Maharaja Sir Prodyat Kumar Tagore and the Hon. Dr. D. P. Sarbadhikari.

On the motion of Mr. R. D. Mehta, seconded by Mr. W. C. Beaumont the following gentlemen were constituted the Executive Committee of the Society for the current year with power to add to their number:—The Hon. Mr. Justice H. L. Stephen, the Hon. Mr. Justice Holmwood, Lt.-Col. W. J. Buchanan, I. M. S., the Hon. Rai P. N. Mookerjee Bahadur, Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, Mr. R. D. Mehta, Mr. W. H. Phelps, the Hon. Mr. Justice Chowdhuri, Mr. H. G. Graves, Mahomed, the Ven. Archdeacon W. K. Firminger, Mr. John Davenport, Mr. F. H. Stewart, the Hon. Secretary, and the Hon. Treasurer.

On the motion of Lt.-Col: W. J. Buchanan, seconded by the Rev. Father H. Hosten, S. J., Messrs. S. C. Sanial and J. C. Mitchell were re-appointed Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

The President regretted that he would have to adhere to his intention of resigning the Presidentship. He thought that some one with more energy should take his place and proposed, and the Hon'ble Mr. Justice H. L. Stephen seconded, that the Venerable Archdeacon be elected President of the Society.

The motion was carried by acclamation.

Mr. R. D. Mehta, proposed a vote of thanks to the chair with which the proceedings terminated.

Proceedings of the first informal meeting held on the 5th December 1913, at 6-30 P.M., at the St. John's Church to discuss the proposed revival of the Calcutta Historical Society.

Present:

The Hon'ble Sir Lawrence Jenkins *in the chair.*
" " Mr. Justice H. L. Stephen.
" " Rai Preonath Mookerjee Bahadur.
The Venerable Archdeacon of Calcutta.
Dr. E. Denison Ross.
Lt.-Col. W. J. Buchanan.
The Rev. Father H. Hosten, S. J.
Mr. H. G. Graves.
Mr. J. Davenport.
Mr. S. C. Sanial.

1. The Hon'ble Rai Preonath Mookerjee Bahadur moved and Lt.-Col. W. J. Buchanan seconded that it is desirable that the Calcutta Historical Society should resume its work.
2. The President moved an amendment to the first resolution to the effect that before the question of reviving the Calcutta Historical Society be put before a general meeting, a small committee consisting of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice H. L. Stephen, the Venerable Archdeacon W. K. Firminger, Dr. E. Denison Ross, Mr. H. G. Graves and the Rev. Father H. Hosten, S. J., do meet at an early date to formulate a scheme for the future work of the Calcutta Historical Society with special reference to its financial position, and to submit their report to the members of this informal meeting who would meet here again to take it into consideration as soon as it is received. This was seconded by Mr. H. G. Graves and passed.

Proceedings of the small Committee appointed to formulate a scheme for the future work of the Calcutta Historical Society and its Journal held at St. John's House, on December 17th, 1913 at 6-30 P.M.

Present:

The Ven'ble Archdeacon of Calcutta
Mr. H. G. Graves
The Rev. Father Hosten, S. J.

1. The Archdeacon submitted an apology for unavoidable absence from the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Stephen.

2. The Committee took into consideration an offer made by Messrs. T. S. Banerji & Co. to assist in the publication of the Society's Journal, but as it was a *sine qua non* in this offer that the scope of the Journal should be made to include all India, the Committee were unable to recommend its adoption.

3. The Committee recommended that a Guarantee Fund be raised to cover any possible losses on the trial issue of a number of *Bengal Past and Present*, the old *format* to be adopted, but the size of the number limited to about 150-160 pages.

4. The Committee recommended that the Archdeacon do get together this trial number as soon as possible and incorporate as much as possible of the literary matter still in hand. That for further issues an Editorial Committee of three be appointed with a Sub-Editor salaried or honorary. It was agreed that the "Leaves from the Editor's note book," under some other heading, be left in the hands of a single person, but that all other contributions should be circulated among the members of the Editorial Committee and inserted only with their approval. This arrangement was proposed, not as implying any disapproval of the Editor's work in the past, but in order to ensure continuity of work, should the presence of any one prominent member of the Society be withdrawn.

5. Several publications of learned Societies were laid on the table as possible models for adoption. It was, however, felt that the larger blue issues of *Bengal Past and Present* had won a certain amount of popularity, and the criticism a change might give rise to would perhaps be dangerous at the moment of a fresh start. It was essential to lay before the public a number calculated to secure annual subscriptions.

6. Father Hosten submitted a list of subjects calling for research.

7. Mr. H. G. Graves informed the meeting that he and Lt. Col. W. J. Buchanan would be glad to contribute Rs. 150 towards the guarantee fund of the trial number of *Bengal Past and Present*. The Venerable Archdeacon W. K. Firminger B. D. also agreed to contribute Rs. 50 towards the same.

Proceedings of the Second Informal Meeting held at St. John's Vestry on the 12th January 1914 at 6-30 P. M.

Present:

Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, KT., *in the chair.*
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice H. L. Stephen.
The Venerable Archdeacon of Calcutta.
Dr. E. Denison Ross.
Mr. J. C. Mitchell.
„ S. C. Sanial.

1. The Venerable Archdeacon read out the Proceedings of the Committee appointed to formulate a scheme for the future work of the Calcutta Historical Society and moved that it be passed. Mr. J. C. Mitchell seconded it, and it was agreed that the Venerable Archdeacon W. K. Firminger, B. D., Dr. E. Denison Ross, the Rev. Father H. Hosten, S. J. and Mr. H. G. Graves do constitute the Editorial Committee. Dr. E. Denison Ross proposed and the Venerable Archdeacon seconded that Mr. S. C. Sanial be appointed Assistant Editor. This was agreed.

2. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice H. L. Stephen moved and Dr. E. Denison Ross seconded, that Mr. S. C. Sanial be appointed Honorary Secretary pending a general meeting. This was agreed.

3. The Venerable Archdeacon W. K. Firminger moved, and it was agreed that Mr. J. C. Mitchell be appointed Honorary Treasurer pending a general meeting.

Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, and Mr. J. C. Mitchell informed the meeting that they would be glad to contribute Rs. 100/- and Rs. 50/- respectively towards the guarantee fund of the trial number of *Bengal Past and Present.*

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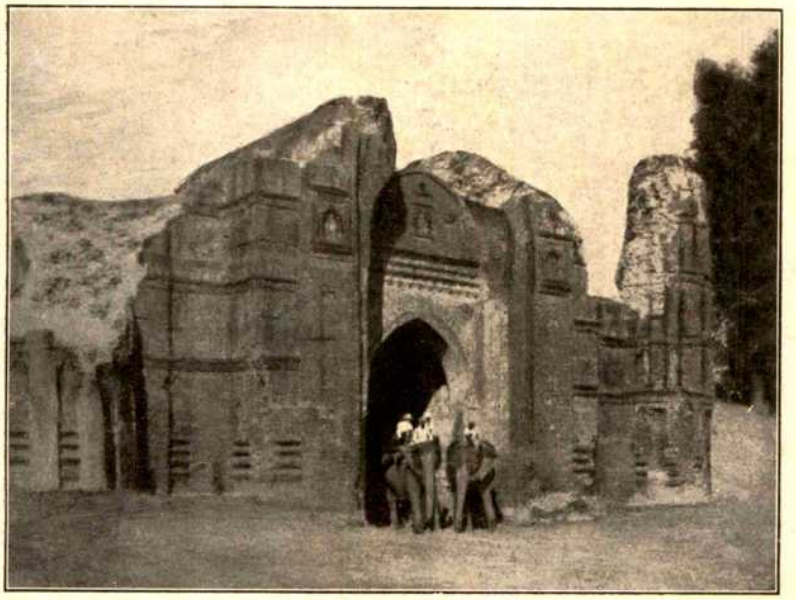
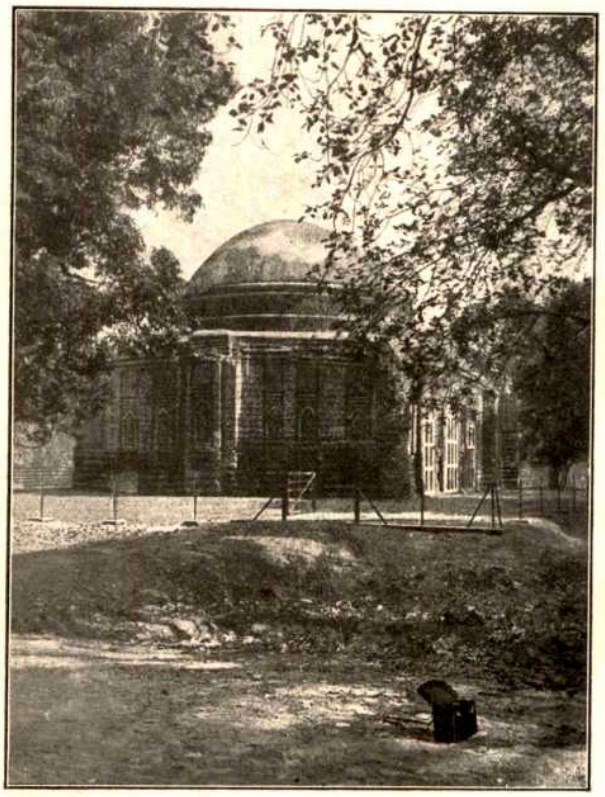
GAUR. EASTERN GATE



GAUR. THE DAKHIL DARWAZAH OR MAIN GATE OF THE FORT.

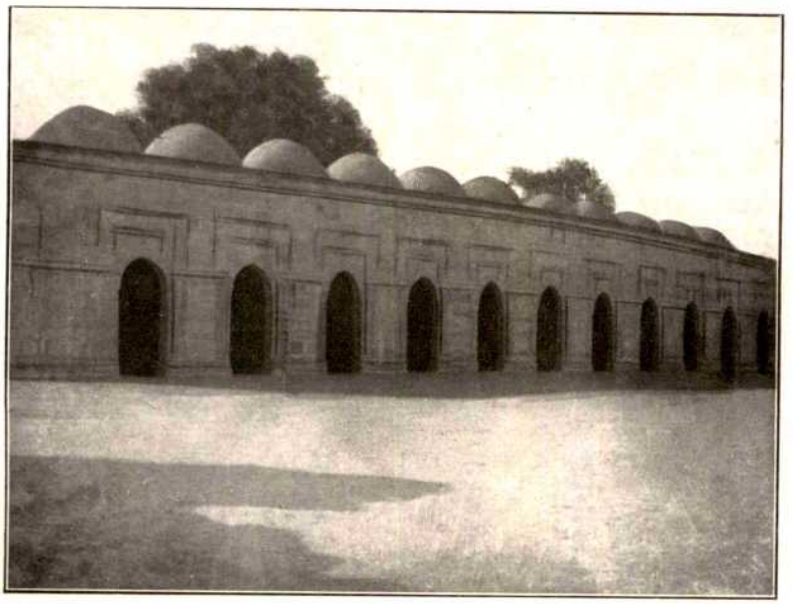
Photos by W. K. Firminger.

GAUR. THE FIROZ MINAR (1488-90. A. D.)

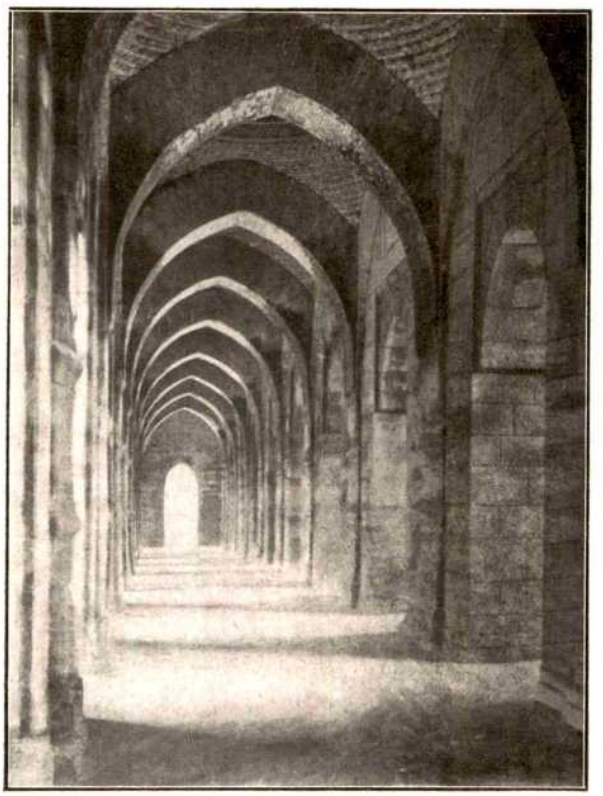


GAUR. THE LATTAN MASJID.

Photos by W. K. Firminger.

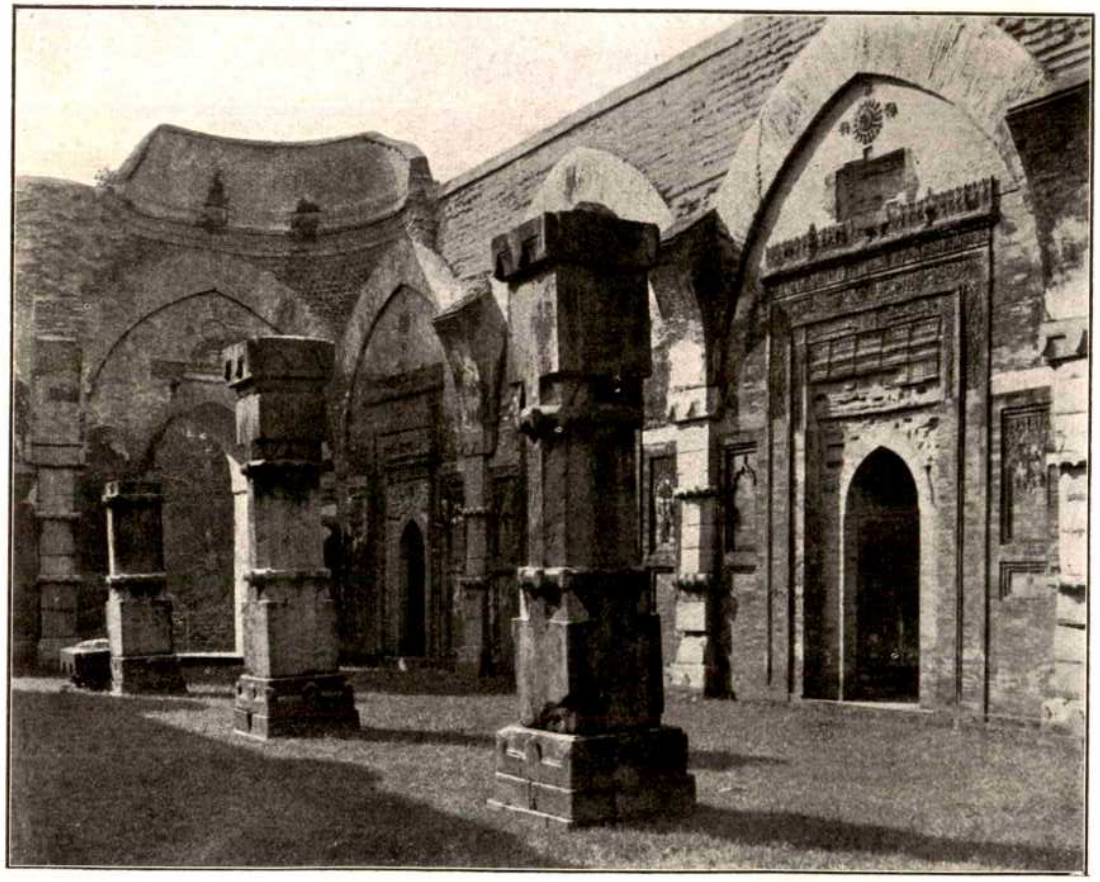


GAUR. THE GREAT GOLDEN MOSQUE. 1526 A. D.



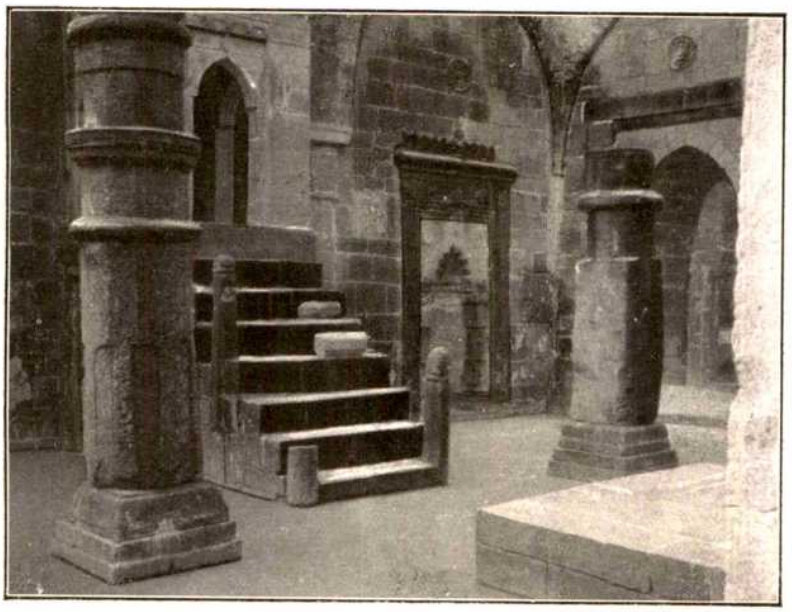
GAUR. AISLE OF THE GREAT GOLDEN MASJID 1592. A. D.

Photos by W. K. Firminger.

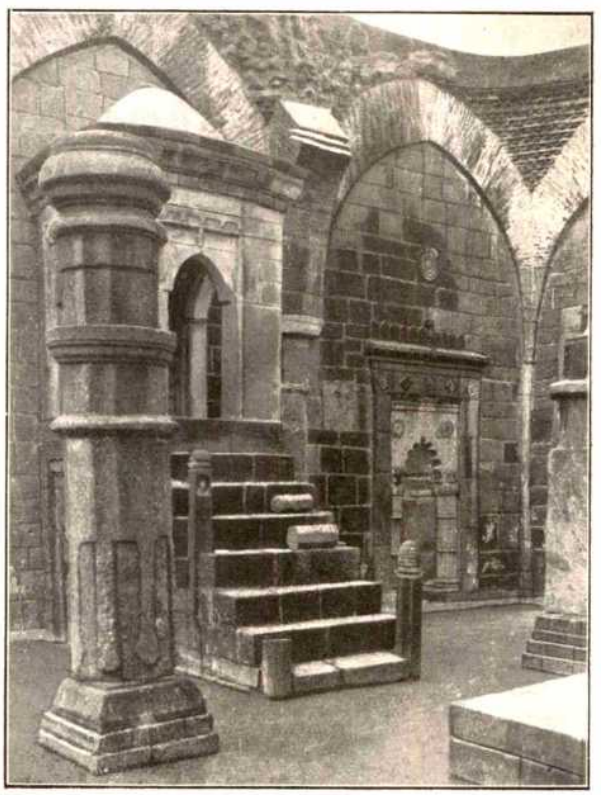


GAUR. INTERIOR OF THE TANTIPARA MASJID. 1482. A. D.

Photo by W. K. Firminger.



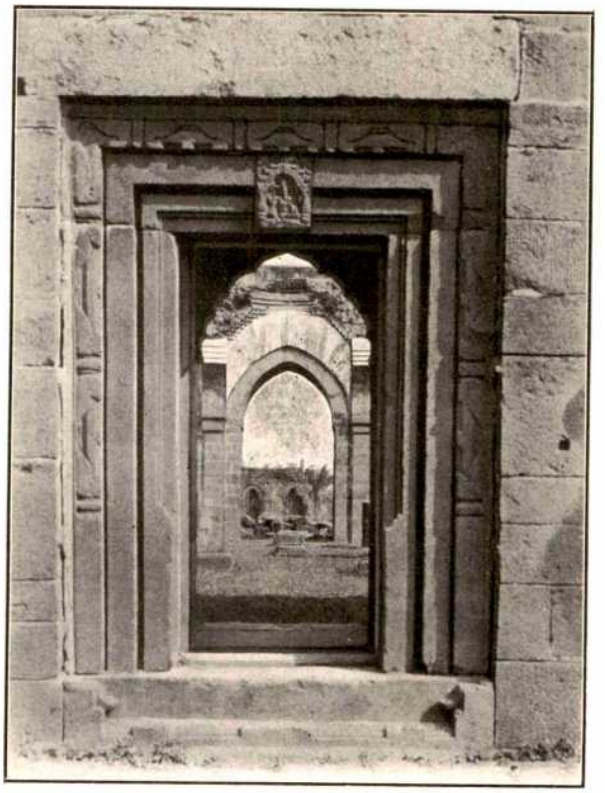
PANDUAH. THE SONA OR QUTUB MASJID.



PANDUAH. PULPIT OF THE QUTUB MASJID.

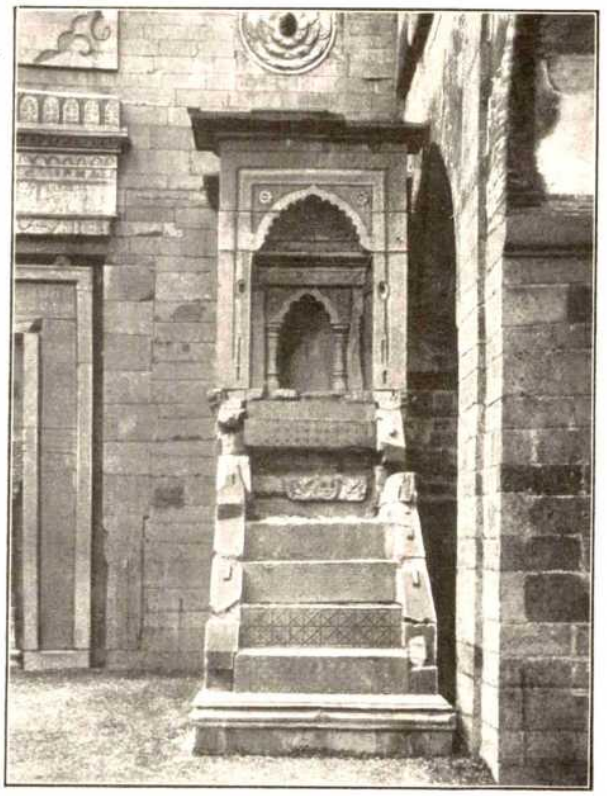
Photos by W. K. Firminger.

PANDUAH. SIKANDAR'S CHAMBER - WEST SIDE OF THE ADINAH MASJID. ABOUT 1389 A. D.

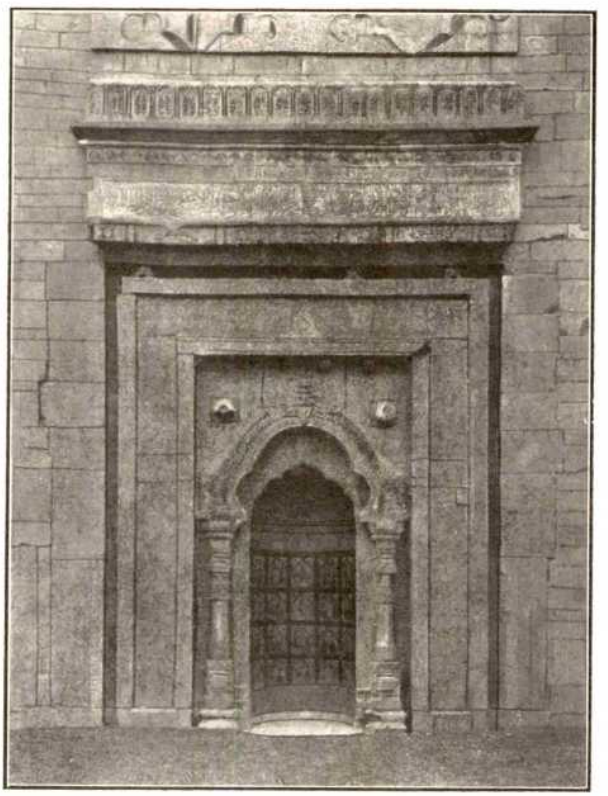


PANDUAH ENTRANCE IN W. WALL OF THE ADINAH MASJID.

Photos by W. K. Firminger.

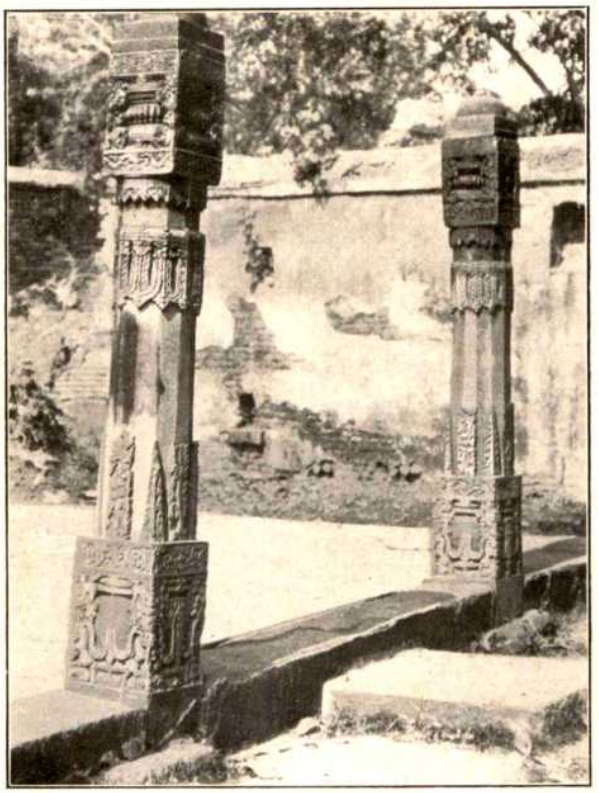


MIMBAR OR PULPIT OF THE ADINAH MASJID.



PANDUAH. MIHRAB OF THE ADINAH MASJID.

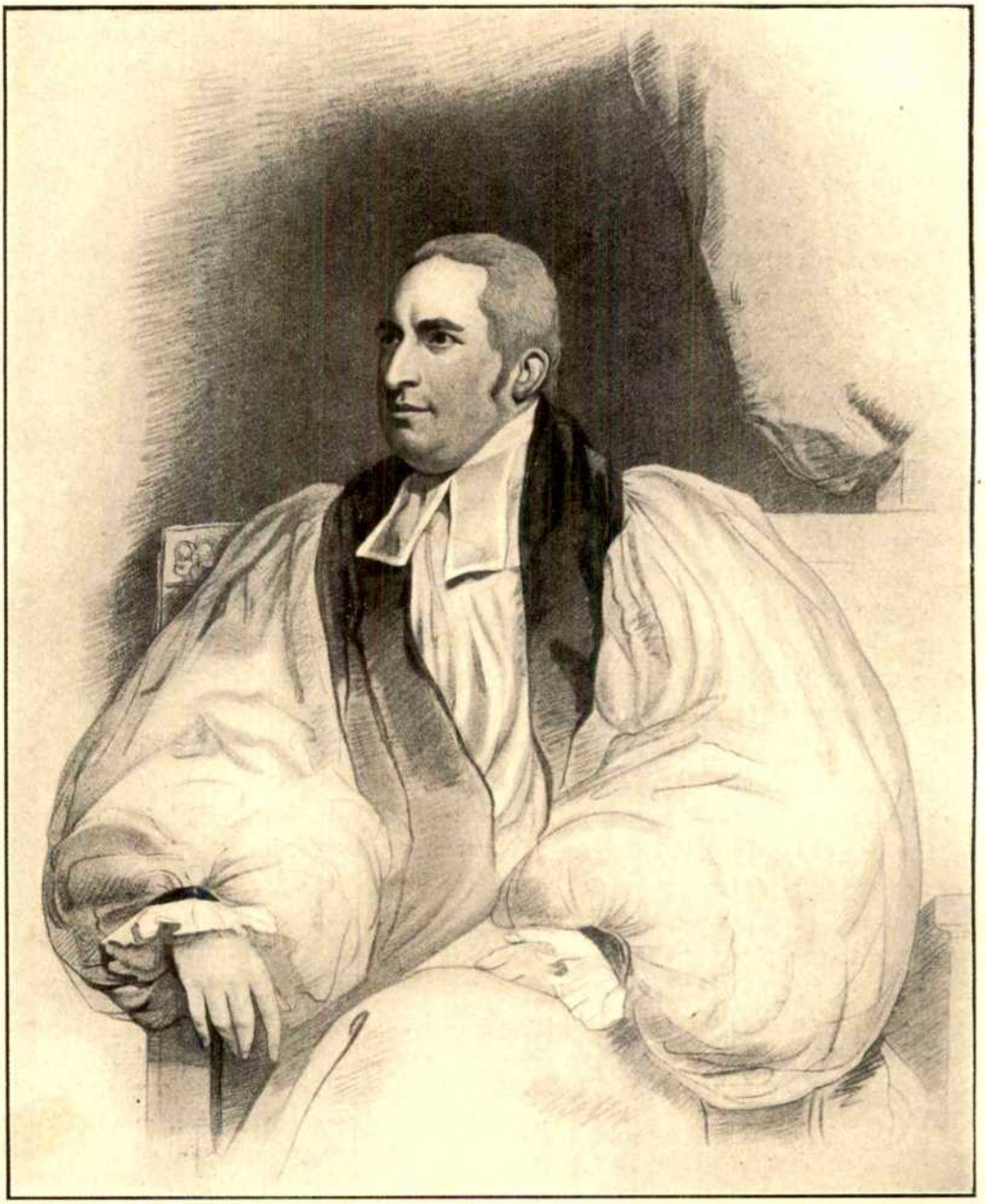
Photos by W. K. Firminger.



PANDUAH. CARVED STONE PILLARS. BARI DARGAH.

PANDUAH. COPPER DRUMS OF NAWAB MIR QASIM KHAN
IN FRONT OF THE MUSAFIRKHANA (GUEST HOUSE).

Photos by W. K. Firminger.



THE RIGHT REVEREND THOMAS FANSHAWE MIDDLETON
THE FIRST BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.
Enthroned December 2, 1814.

Narrative of the Campaign in Bengal—III.* *(Concluded).*

Extracts of Letters from MAJOR POLIER† *at Delhi, to Colonel Ironside at Belgram, May 22, 1776, containing some interesting Historical and Biographical Particulars.*

YOU have no doubt heard of Zabata Khan's rebellion, and of his late success in destroying the King's forces, and seizing all his artillery He had, in consequence of his victory, laid hold of almost all the country which the King possessed between the Jumna and the Ganges However, latterly he has assented to the preliminaries of an accomodation, and I hope, before it is long, we shall be at peace from that quarter. He is to have a considerable territory as a maintenance for himself and his son, and is to rent another from the King adjoining to it For conditions by half less hard, matters might have been made up about five months ago by which the King would have saved his honour, his troops, and much money and expence, but private pique, and some avarice, were to be gratified, and the consequences have very nigh proved dreadful to this city, which is far from being in a state of defence.

I do not remember ever to have been in a place more adapted than this is, to encourage moral reflections on the vicissitude and uncertainty of sublunary grandeur power, and comforts. True it is, that the etiquette of the court is still, as much as possible, kept up as it was in the time of Shah Jehan, or Mahomed Shah, but, alas! how much fallen from the splendour and opulence which distinguished those reigns! Wood, and some coarse Curuah cloth, has supplied the want of those pillars of silver and gold that formerly supported awnings of cloth or velvet, covered with embroidery, which went round every apartment The ceilings of massy silver gilt, have made room for more modest ones of painted wood. In short, every step one takes in the palace, shews what it was once, and how fallen it is at present Even the very walls have not escaped the depredations of mischievous avarice. They are of fine white marble in most of the public apartments I have seen, and inlaid with agates, jaspers, onyxes, and other precious marbles, in the form of flowers, after the Florentine manner This work has been extremely well performed, and at a great expence, but almost

* Reprinted from the *Asiatic Annual Register* of 1800—Miscellaneous Tracts—and concluded from page 51 of *Bengal Past & Present*, Serial No 15, Vol. VIII

† For a biographical notice of Polier see *Bengal Past & Present* Vol. VI, 176—177

everywhere the marble has been dug for the small pieces of agates, or cornelians, with which it was inlaid. It hurts me to see such beautiful work gone to ruin; but I cannot turn any where without seeing the same waste and desolation.

I have not far to go to see a striking instance of this fickleness of Fortune. I am lodged in a house built by the famous Camurodin Khan, vizier to Mahomed Shah, a man immensely rich and powerful. The house, though much decayed, still shews what it was, and the opulence of its master. It is certain a good estate might be bought for only what has been expended on the gilding, from which you may judge of the rest. In the time of Camurodin Khan, the greatest Omrah of the empire would have thought himself highly honoured by being admitted to an entertainment or visit in this palace; and as for an European, as I am, the farthest I could have pretended to go, would have been about the gate. But see, how times alter! The only surviving son of this great vizier is in the deepest want of everything; inhabits a wretched dwelling on the outside of this house, which, in the time of his father, one of his servants would have disdained to live in; and an European occupies the vizier's apartments. This is one of those revolutions that are much more frequently met with in this country than in any other, and is a fine subject for moral and philosophical reflection. Notwithstanding what I have said, of my occupying the master's apartments of Camurodin Khan's house, yet I must also confess I have no reason to assume much on it, for I am not the only inhabitant. A good quantity of bats, owls, swallows, and pigeons, dispute with me that honour, and, spite of my efforts, keep possession of their holes; so that, altogether, I have nothing to be proud of, since I only share the habitation with them.

With respect to Sombre, he is an Alsatian, born at Strasburg, the capital of that country, originally bred a carpenter, though some say a butcher, which last I am tempted to credit. He came to India about 30 years ago in the French sea service as a carpenter; from which he soon after entered into the military as a private soldier, and was raised to the rank of serjeant, in which station he continued to the breaking out of the last war and was stationed, I think, at Dacca. The French Factory there having dispersed at the taking of Chandernagore, Sombre, amongst the rest, left that place, and went to seek his fortune. He entered into the service of various powers in different parts of India, and, in the latter part, I think, with the Purnea Nabob, where, with many changes, but in a low condition, he remained unnoticed till the accession of Cassim Aly to the Bengal Musnud.

The encouragement Cassim Aly gave to such as were capable of disciplining troops after the European mode, particularly if they were French

subjects, soon drew Sombre into his service, where he was not long before he gained favour by his assiduity, and the care he took to form the troops that were entrusted to his charge. He had soon a separate command; however, he remained undistinguished for any thing, except the infamous action, in which he treacherously, and in cold blood, to the dishonour of the European name, butchered our officers, etc., confined at Patna, in consequence of Cassim Aly Khan's orders, and after this horrid act had been proposed and refused by several of his Hindustanee officers. From this time may be dated Sombre's rise and power. Cassim could not but place confidence in a man so truly after his own heart; of course he became a favourite, and was well rewarded for his villainy. All this, however, did not afterwards prevent Sombre's observing that Cassim's fortune was irretrievable; and he accordingly began to secure himself with Shujah-al-Dowlah, into whose service he entered, with the greatest part of the troops under his command, some time after Cassim had taken refuge with him; having previously compelled his worthy master to pay every rupee he was in arrears with his party, which, little by little, he had gained over to himself. From this period he became independent, and his own master; and he remained with Shujah, till the latter's treating with the English made it necessary for him to dismiss Sombre. He meant to do it without paying him, but it would not do. Sombre surrounded Shujah's begum and women in the Rohella country, and made her pay all arrears before he would move off. He then went into the service of the Jauts, from which, on some discontent, he removed into the Jaynagur Rajah's country, where, however, he did not stay long; he returned to the Jauts, and remained with them while they could pay him; after which he was invited to this court, and well received, though afterwards treated in such a manner as engaged him to join with Nujhaf Khan, with whom he has been ever since. His party is not very considerable. Three battalions of sepoys and about 200 horses compose it; but he has a good train of artillery, 14 guns well mounted, and well served with everything necessary. As to his capacity and character, Sombre is *ommy* (*i.e.* illiterate) to the full extent of the word: he can neither read nor write, but, where necessary, makes his mark. He is, however, versed in Persian and Moorish tongues, both of which he speaks fluently, and accurately enough. He is, as may be judged from his conduct at Patna, of a cruel and merciless disposition, several instances of which he has given in the exertion of what he thought justice and authority, but which could be called by any other name than murderous and bloody acts. He is reputed cowardly, and not over scrupulous. As to the fair side of his character, he is a plain man, both in his dress, equipage and way of life; not disowning or attempting to conceal his mean origin, and the humble state in which he has formerly been, in this, very different from the other

adventurer Madoe. But Sombre's principal merit is in his prudence; it is that which has hitherto kept his party entire and unbroken in the several engagements he has been in, and where he alone almost sustained the whole brunt of the action, and which, in all likelihood, will preserve him hereafter. He has, indeed, an uncommon share of it, and may be allowed some military merit. He is much afraid of the English; he dreads their very name, and not without reason. This makes him ever keep on his guard; no person can enter or approach his camp without being stopped and examined. In short, his whole deportment shews he is under apprehensions lest he should be seized and delivered up. On that account he is very loth to divide his forces, particularly since the English army is come so near where he is. This circumspection, spite of his prudence, has brought him into another dilemma, from which, in the end, he may find it difficult to extricate himself. He will not take from Nujhaf Khan any other subsidy for his troops but ready money, which the latter is not very forward to pay. He is actually ten months in arrears with Sombre, and the latter four months in arrears with his own party. If Sombre would accept of a district, which Nujhaf Khan has more than once offered him, from the rents of which he might get what is sufficient to pay himself his monthly allowance, which is rated at 65,000 rupees, all included, everything would go well with him; but his suspicious temper will not allow him to do it; it might oblige him to divide his forces, and, perhaps, give an opportunity, which Nujhaf Khan would not miss, of seizing him, and thereby making his court to the English. He, therefore, will have nothing to do with Jâhdâts, or consignments. But the alternative is full as bad; for he will find it a difficult point to oblige Nujhaf Khan to pay him in ready money, and danger would attend him using force to make him do it. Such is, briefly, the state and character of that adventurer; he has, moreover, entirely adopted the manners and customs of the country. He wears the Mogul dress, has a zenanah, etc. and has absolutely dropt all thoughts of returning to Europe. He is about 56 years of age, and has an only son about 12.

In general, I find Sombre is neither liked, nor admired, in this country, though his strength is sufficient to ensure him consequence and respect from all who may want his services, or are weaker than he is.

Since the letter I wrote to you on the subject of Sombre, I have learned several other particulars relative to him, which I was unacquainted with before. His real name is Balthazar.....;* the rest I have forgot. Sombre is *Son nom de guerre.* He is a deserter of ours; he enlisted at Calcutta, before the taking of the place, I think, in one of the Swiss companies, commanded by a young officer, I suppose Vassarot, or Ziegler, and

* His proper name was Walter Reinhardt. He was reputed to be the son of a butcher at Salzburg.

deserted shortly after. This anecdote is not generally known, and might serve, should he ever fall into our hands, for a valid plea to hang him, which could not well be done otherwise without straining a point, as he certainly only executed the commands of his infamous master, and his life might have been endangered by non-compliance; however, I think there is little chance of the matter's being ever put to the test. Nujhaf Khan will never willingly part with him, and, if he would, has not the power to secure or to reduce him. Sombre is continually on his guard, and, besides, resolved never to fall alive into our hands, for which purpose he is furnished with a good dose of poison. Certain it is, his life is a perfect purgatory, and he is as full of distrust and suspicion as is sufficient to render any one truly miserable, which I believe is the case with him.

N. B.—Sombre died about the 15th of May 1778, peaceably, in his camp, not far from Delhi.* Immediately, however, after his decease, all his effects were seized by Nujhaf Khan, who also took his only son under his charge and protection.

ACCOUNT OF THE KING, OF HIS DOMINIONS, AND OF NUJHAF KHAN.

The King's dominions are bounded on the North, N. W. and W. N. W. by the Siques. To the N. E. and within the Dooab, Zabetah Khan possesses a large tract of country, which heretofore belonged to the King, but is now, by the late treaty, finally made over to him. To the Eastward, the King's territories join those of Assof-al-Dowlah, and, on every other side, they are encircled, as it were, by Nujhaf Khan. Each of those different powers may be said to acknowledge the King's title, and address him accordingly; but they all alike seem bent on stopping there, and, instead of tendering him either assistance or support, think of nothing else than how to purloin from him, and reduce him to the greatest distresses. Even Assof-al-Dowlah himself, notwithstanding his outward shew of succour, by sending his general the eunuch Letafet, with a body of troops, to this capital, is no exception to that rule; nay, in my opinion, the vain and empty parade of such assistance, absolutely confined, as it is, to the inside of Delhi, is worse than all the rest, and seems rather intended to deride and insult, than any thing else: but this is not to be wondered at; it is the natural consequence of the King's weakness, which is not limited to his power, but also extends to his genius and spirit, far different at present from what it was when only Shah Zadah. The indulgence of an inactive life while at Allahabad, and since his return here, has absolutely effiminated him, and rendered him unfit for any action or decisive resolution. The whole and entire trust of all his affairs

* *Vide* Compton's *European Military Adventurers* p. 404. Reinhardt died at Agra, 4th May, 1778.

he has placed in the hands of his minister Abdallah Khan, whose abilities as a mootseddy are undoubtedly great, but who is in no shape equal to the task, I will not say of restoring the empire, but even of keeping possession of the few provinces that are left.

Nujhaf Khan, who originally owes everything to the King, and by whose assistance he began to raise himself, and subdue the Jauts, might, if he had pleased, have prevented or put a stop to the late disasters, occasioned by Zabetah Khan's rebellion, and the defeat of the King's troops; but the rascal has viewed the destruction of his master without so much as sending a man to his aid, or interfering by his mediation: nay, on the contrary, it may well be presumed he has been underhand adding fuel to the fire. Besides, he is ever, under some pretence, or other, laying his hands on the King's dominions, some parts of which are absolutely encircled within his own territories; and he either protects the Zemindars in their revolts, or else absolutely takes the revenues to himself. All this, however, is done without entirely throwing off appearances. The mask of submission and allegiance is still kept up, in letters, messages, etc.; though it is not difficult to perceive, that even this little only holds by a thread, and that all in general conclude in looking on the King's authority and dignity to be no better than a mere shadow. This in the Seiks is not extraordinary; but in Nujhaf Khan it shews to what length ambition will drive a man, and confirms me in the opinion that gratitude was never the growth of India.

Nujhaf Khan dreads the English; but they are rather distant at present: were they nearer, he would act very differently; or even were they to talk to him in a proper tone, I am convinced he would think a little seriously. At present he is amusing the Council with letters of protestation, of his inclination and intention to dismiss Sombre, and to secure him; but I am much mistaken if he is in earnest. He has as yet been only entreated, and while the Council address him in that strain, Nujhaf Khan will laugh at them in his sleeve, and keep Sombre. Let them speak seriously, and let the brigade but cross the Ganges, and mark whether Nujhaf Khan does not become as humble and submissive as he is now supercilious and insolent. It is the only way of acting with Hindustanees.

I have been prolix on this subject, that you may know hereafter what trust to put in Nujhaf Khan, or any other Omrah not directly under the immediate protection of the Company; for they are all alike.

You thought Nujhaf Khan had, as a soldier, something of the gentleman in him; but had you seen him without the veil which these gentry wear before their "Sardars Englese," when they feel themselves immediately under their thumb, you would have known that he cannot have the smallest pretensions to the last, and very little to the first of these qualifications; yet I will

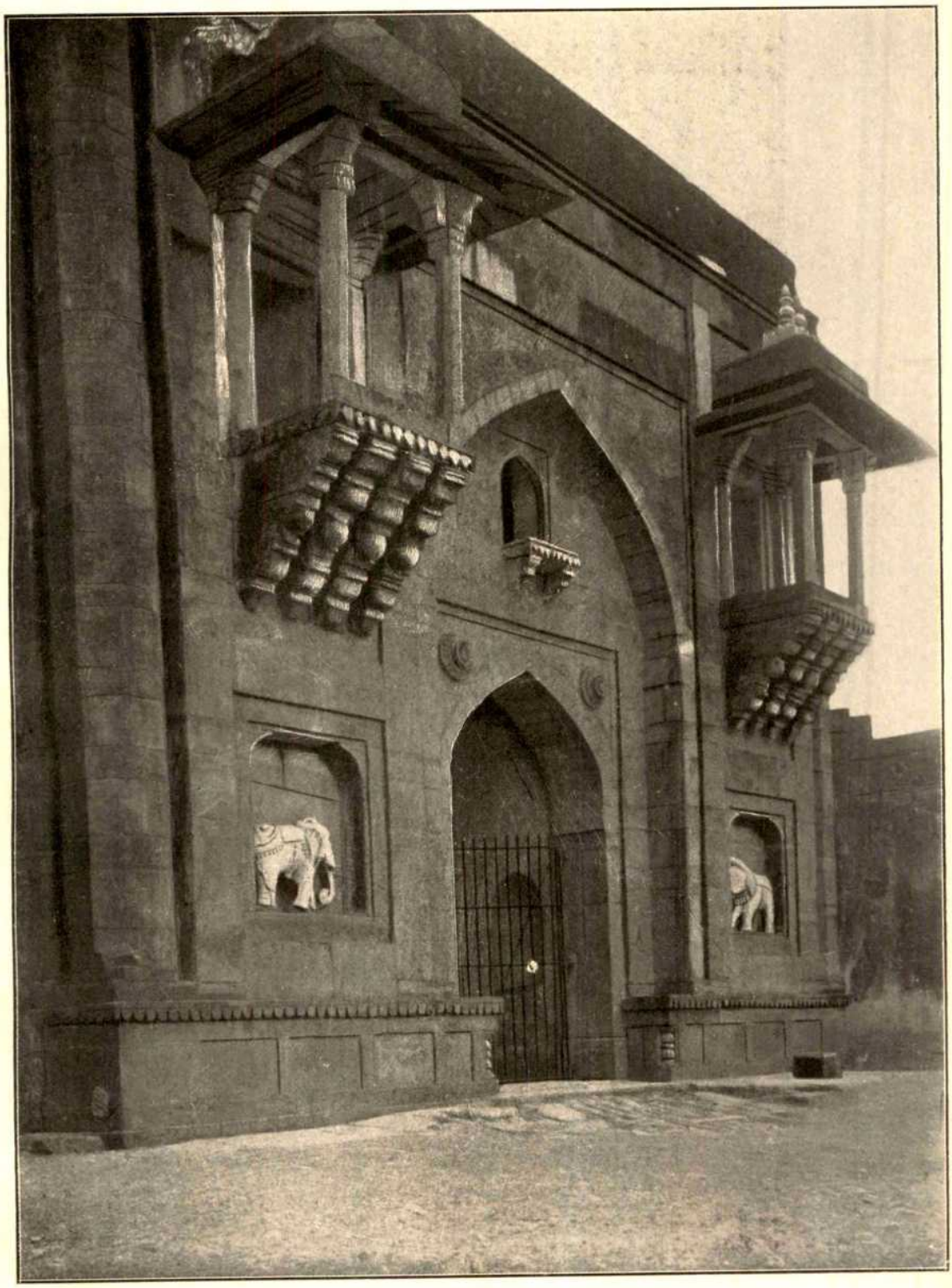
not deny but he has some good qualities, and to them alone is he indebted for the figure he makes at present. His perseverance is unparalleled; his patience and fortitude, in bearing, in adversity, the reproaches and the impertinence of his rabble, is admirable. This keeps up his followers; he amuses them with promises, and the charms of hope and fair words. They have the privilege of finding fault with his conduct even to his face, of advising him what to do, and, in short, even to the lowest Mogul in his retinue, they seem to treat him more as an equal than a superior. All this he bears with great fortitude, and even good humour; and he is liked for it by his people, though they serve him very badly, it must be acknowledged. As for his lying, was it a thing quite natural to an Hindustanee, I should be tempted to think necessity obliged him to it; for he has too much bashfulness, or call it what you please, to refuse any one point-blank to his face; and too much politeness to send any one away dissatisfied with him. This makes him lie, and promise, although he does not intend to perform, and by that means few or none go from him discontented. *Apropos* of his lying: A certain Ressaladar of his, whom he had often deceived, came one day to the Darbar: and Nujhaf Khan having asked him, what news? The other answered, "Not much, only a merchant is just arrived with four cart-loads of lies, for the use of Mirza Nujhaf Khan." He, with great good humour, said, "Is that all? Why it is only as much as I can expend in a day." This good nature helps his interest much. But if he kept fewer troops, paid them better, and made himself more respectable, there is no doubt but he could do a great deal, and that he would soon grow more and more powerful. As for his present army every one directs and commands but none obey it; and, by keeping more forces than he can pay, he is always "*Monsieur d'Argent Court.*"

As for the Seiks, that formidable aristocratical republic I may safely say, it is only so to a weak defenceless state, such as this is. It is properly the snake with many heads. Each Zemindar, who, from the Attock to Hansey Ifsar, and to the gates of Delhi, lets his beard grow, cries *wah gorow*, eats pork, wears an iron bracelet, drinks bang, abominates the smoking of tobacco, and can command from ten followers on horseback to upwards, sets up immediately for a Seik Sirdar; and, as far as is in his power, aggrandizes himself at the expence of his weaker neighbours; if Hindu or Mussulman, so much the better; if not, even amongst his own fraternity will he seek to extend his influence and power; only with this difference, in their intestine divisions, from what is seen every where else, that the husbandman and labourer, in their own districts, are perfectly safe and unmolested, let what will happen round about them.

From this small sketch it may be easily conceived, that the Seiks are much less formidable than they are represented. It is true that they all join together when invaded, as was the case when Abdallah passed through their country. But, notwithstanding they had assembled an immense body of cavalry, extremely well mounted, yet they never presumed to make a single charge on the Duranny army, or even on detachments; and, considering their irregularity, and want of discipline and subordination, it was well for them, I think, they did not. They satisfied themselves in making a kind of hussar war of it, cutting off stragglers, and intercepting provisions. In this they excel. To say the truth, they are indefatigable; mounted on the best horses that India can afford, each carries a matchlock of a large bore, which they handled dexterously enough, and with which they annoy considerably, avoiding, at the same time, going in large bodies, or approaching too near. Such is their way of making war, which can only appear dangerous to the wretched Hindustan troops of these quarters, who trembled as much at the name of a Seik, as people used to do, not long ago, at the mention of Mahrattas. But what is most to be admired, those Seik Sirdars, whose territories border on the King's were but lately zemindars of the Jauts, and of their cast or tribe, under which denomination had they remained, no one would have thought of them; but, now they have put on the iron bracelet, fifty of them are enough to keep at bay a whole battalion of the King's forces, such as they are. This shews the force of prejudice, and the value of military reputation. Such are the immediate neighbours of the King.

Five hundred of Nujhaf Khan's horse dare not encounter fifty Seik horsemen; and yet the last are as despicable a set of creatures as any that can be imagined. On the whole, was it not for Sombre's party, and Letafet's forces, Nujhaf Khan would not be able to stand his ground half an hour; and yet this is The Mighty Chief!

Cossim Ally Khan, after several adventures, and flying from one place to another, has at last taken up his residence at Pulwull, a small town 20 coss from hence, on the high road from Agra to Delhi. There, in a miserable tent, surrounded by a couple of tattered walls, does he, with a suite of about fifty attendants, drag on a wretched life. He is very studious to keep up the appearance of misery and poverty, and this to prevent any attack from robbers, great and small. He has, I believe, a small pension from Nujhaf Khan, though not openly; and he lives on that, and on some effects which he from time to time disposes of. Part of his time is taken up in dressing his own victuals (which office he trusts to nobody else), and in his correspondence; and the rest is invariably dedicated to judicial astrology. By the stars does he regulate all his conduct; and he is fully persuaded, that, from their influence, and from a due knowledge of it, he will be enabled, one day



ROHTAS : ELEPHANT GATE.
Photo by Walter K. Firminger.

or other, to remount the musnud either of Bengal or Delhi, no matter which, with tenfold power and glory. In that pleasing hope I shall leave him. It is not improbable that before long, some one or other will make away with him, in expectation of plundering his effects. His brother, or cousin, Boo Ally Khan, is here; more, I believe, as a spy upon me and others, than for any thing else. However, I have kept hitherto so much on the side of indifference, that I believe he no longer suspects me as he did at first. So much for that hero.

(*Written afterwards.*)

Cossim Ally Khan is at last dead and buried. His demise was at Delhi, on the 29th of the moon Rabyal Sany, that is, on the 6th of June 1777. It is said he died in great misery, and that his last shawl was sold to pay for his winding-sheet. The King's people immediately plundered all his cattle and moveables and placed his women and children under confinement: however the whole was given up again at Nujhaf Khan's intercession, and two of his children are come to this camp under Nujhaf Khan's protection. I passed by them the other day. They are both young, one about 12, the other about 10 years, or perhaps less. They have a small tent, and one wall, rather the worse for wear, for their habitation; and one palankeen, once embroidered, for their carriage: however, they are decently clothed; nay, elegantly. I presume Nujhaf Khan, under the pretence of tuition and patronage, will endeavour to discover if there is any thing concealed, and appropriate it to himself if it is not done already. Various are the reports and conjectures relative to Cossim's fortune. Some say he had nothing left, not even barely subsistence; while others are equally positive in asserting that he had still some valuable jewels, and bonds to an immense amount. I believe a medium should be followed in this, as in most controverted points; however, this I know, that he had bonds, whether true or false I cannot tell, to a good amount in his possession. I have it from ocular authority. In passing by his children* the other day, I could not help recollecting the having once, at Patna, being obliged to dismount from my horse, and wait a foot till his retinue had passed me, before I was permitted to mount again, or to retire. I could have done the same by his children; but I bear no malice, and besides he could not well have known it himself.

Delhi, as you may well conceive it, is much fallen, I will not say from its ancient grandeur, but even from what it was in the reign of the unfortunate Ahmed Shah; and it may now well be said to be nothing more than a heap of ruin and rubbish. What remains of Delhi is situated on a

* He left seven children.

very advantageous spot on the western bank of the river Jumnah, which formerly washed the walls of the place, but has of late withdrawn about a mile. It stands on a high ground, and mostly on rocks, which end here on a small chain of low rocky hills, that turn from Dieg, Jaynagur, etc. The circumference of the town may be about 5 coss (*i. e.*, 10 miles), and is surrounded with a very indifferent stone wall, except at the water side, where it is open in one or two places, and wherein the others, the terraces of the great Omrah's houses, the royal palace, and the castle of Selim Gur, or Noor Gur, form the principal defence. Its form is nearly that of a half circle, or bow, with the string towards the river; and the palace, which is completely surrounded with a very high stone wall, towers, etc., and a small ditch, stands directly in the centre of it, close to the river's bank, which, during the rains, has still a small channel, where the main river formerly ran. The whole of this town and palace was built by Shah Jehan, when, on account of the intense heats and hot winds, he resolved on removing from Agra, which had been the chief residence of Akber and Jehangeer, his predecessors; and, under a monarch so generous and magnificient, and so great an encourager of the arts, the work was soon accomplished. But what gave the greatest lustre and splendour to the new city was the successful attempt of Ally Murdaun Khan, a Persian Omrah (the same who delivered Candahar into Shah Jehan's hands), who undertook to bring a canal of fresh water, to run through the principal streets and parts of the town, by a cut made from the Jumnah itself, at a place called Mogulpoore (about 60 coss from Delhi), where the river is very rapid, and has several falls; and this, by a proper management, he soon effected. Though the work was not done with that elegance and solidity for which the ancient and some of our modern aqueducts are so famous, yet it was not the less useful; and it may be easily conceived what pleasure, in such a climate as this, and in a place too where there is not a potable well, the sight of a canal of excellent water must afford, running through every principal street of the town, and through the gardens and houses of the Omrahs and chief inhabitants. The work was mostly done with earth, and therefore required constant attendance and repair, but the advantage of having such an immense body of water at command, through so long a course as nearly 120 miles of country, amply compensated for every expence, and, besides, put yearly a considerable sum in the pocket of the Omrah who had the superintendance of it. The last of any note who enjoyed that post was Sufder Jung, father of the late Shujah-ul-Dowlah; and, it is asserted, he cleared annually 25 lacks of rupees by it; which is not to be wondered at, the country through which it runs being mostly low, and the canal elevated above it, advantage was made of that circumstance to fertilize and water the adjacent parts, by only opening

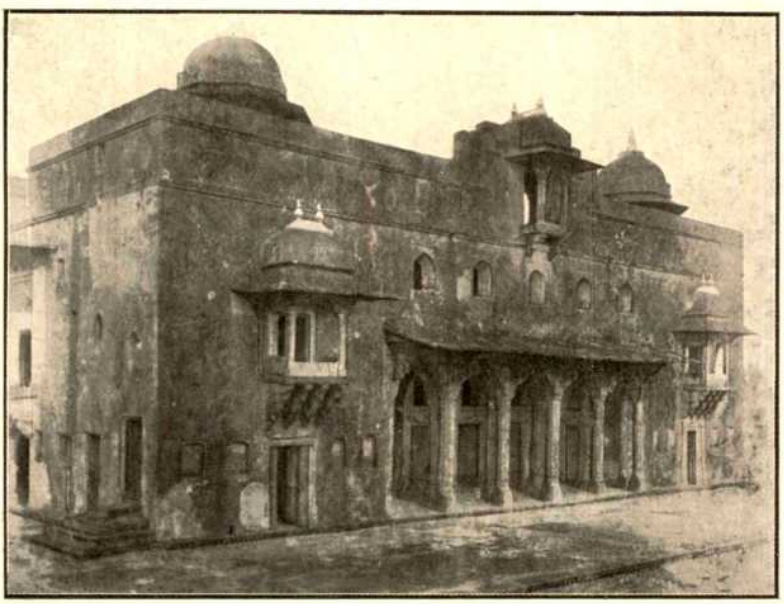
small cuts in different places, and for a time only. This condescension of the Darogah was well paid for, and the produce of the land amply made up the extraordinary expence to the farmer and zemindar, who had in the neighbouring capital a certain market for as much grain or fruits as they could raise. This rendered that part of the Soubah of Delhi highly flourishing; so much so, that many towns which at present do not bring in 2000 rupees of revenue, afforded, at that time, without the smallest difficulty, a lack of rupees, or more, yearly. After the rebellion of Sufder Jung, the canal soon went to ruin; and the troubles and confusion that followed, prevented the necessary attentions being paid to so useful a work. It dried up, and of course the revenue and emoluments along with it. About 15 years ago, an attempt was made, by order of Ahmed Shah Duranny, to repair the canal; which, at the expence of a lack of rupees, succeeded; and the water came to the gates of Delhi: but the succeeding troubles, and the war with the Mahrattas, engaged too much of Abdallah's attention, to permit him to think any more of the matter; and the canal dried again nor has any attempt been made since, though the thing is very practicable, and might be done at a small expence. But it is not in this only that the same negligence is perceivable; it shows itself in every thing else. Such is the evil genius which seems at present to influence this wretched court in all its proceedings, that no steps whatever are taken to endeavour at recovering even the shadow of the ancient dignity and power of this empire. All the Minister appears to aim at, seems to be, how to keep his master in the most abject dependence, and overwhelmed with troubles and difficulties—that he alone may be continued in his post, where he is become necessary and indispensable. Such will ever be the fate of despotic monarchs, who think it not incumbent on them to act or superintend their own affairs, and trust all to others to save themselves trouble.

I have been unwillingly hurried into this digression, and shall now resume the description of this capital. Neither straight nor elegant streets, with good building on each side, must be expected in this place. Delhi, like all other cities in India, is extremely irregular in that respect, and has nothing that can recommend it. The street leading from the Lahore gate to the khelah (or fort) is the only one worth mentioning; it is wide, planted with trees regularly enough, and a small canal of water went formerly through the middle of it: all the others are narrow and crooked.—The great mosque, called Jummah Musjid, built by Shah Jehan, is the most grand building of the kind in India; it is situated in the highest part, and nearly in the centre of the town, and on a rock. The whole inside, and the domes, are all incrustated with white marble; and the inside particularly, is elegantly inlaid with flowers, etc. On the whole, the edifice wants neither solidity, beauty, nor elegance. Two mosques, that of Rochun al Dowlah, and of Nawal

Bahauder, have their domes and minars covered with copper richly gilt, and are, though small, elegant enough: nothing else within the town is worthy of attention. Most of the great Omrahs' houses are in ruins, the woodwork and beams having served for fuel to the Mahrattas and Rohillas, when they had possession of this unhappy capital. As for the khelah, within which is the royal palace and gardens, it is not to be doubted but, in those days of the meridian glory of this empire, it was a place worthy to be seen, on account of the richness and sumptuousness of the furniture, and the power of the monarchs, and splendour of the court. At present it is indeed wretchedly fallen. The walls only remain; in some places, from time and want of repair, tumbling down, and threatening ruin; but everywhere barbarously despoiled of those elegant inlayings and gildings which formerly ornamented the white marble employed in several parts of the edifices. Of those parts which I have seen, the Divan Khas, the hot bath, the small mosque, and the garden of Hyatbucksh, are now alone worthy of notice. The three former, and several of the buildings of the last, are of white marble, elegantly inlaid, in most places, with rare and precious agaths, etc. of various colours, representing flowers and branches, and executed with great taste. The hot bath, in particular, is a masterpiece. The garden of Hyatbucksh, when in its splendour, and with the waters playing, must have been pleasing enough. At present, the canal being dried up, its basons and fountains, which were supplied by it, are also stopt; which is certainly a great disadvantage to the place. However, so much still remains as evidently shows it to have been, exclusive of its buildings, far more equal to the exaggerated descriptions I have heard of it formerly, and much inferior, I will not say, to the European royal gardens, but even to those of many of the English gentry. But at Delhi it was a wonder.

This is all worthy of notice in the present city, and it is not much. The suburbs, which formely extended some miles on each side, and the old Delhi adjoining to the new on the south, which alone was an immense city, are nothing but a heap of ruins, and the resort of snakes and wild beasts. The tomb of Hoomaion, still entire, and in which many of the royal line, to save charges, have been buried lately, is at the south end of old Delhi, about six miles from the new town; some distance from the fort (built also by Hoomaion, and in which he had his residence) is a large, not ill-built edifice rather plainer and modester than the mausoleum of his son Akber at Secandra near Agra, and is not to be passed unnoticed. There is a beautiful extensive view from its terrace. Mahommed Shah's sepulchre, at a place where a reputed Mussulman saint and apostle, called Nizam O'din, lies buried, ought also, on account of its simplicity and humility, to be seen. The mausoleum of Sufder Jung is not far from thence, at a place called Shah Murdaun, and where a supposed impression, on stone, of Ally the prophet's hand, is

ROHTAS.



ROHTAS BARADUARI.

reverently preserved. It is an extensive lofty edifice, in the centre of a garden, tolerably kept up, with basons and fountains, etc. and stands about five miles from the new town, which formerly reached even beyond it.

All these buildings are modern, compared with those still to be seen at a place called Cootub Shah, seven computed coss to the S. W. of Delhi. This place is full of ruins and sepulchres: 1,80,000 saints and martyrs, of the Islam, are computed to lie buried there, exclusive of Cootub O'din himself, who is one of their principal apostles. This spot is famous on account of the many battles which have been fought near it, by the first Mussulman conquerors against the Rajahs of Delhi; the last of which, fought about 600 years ago against Rajah Paitowra, gave the decisive blow. Delhi, which in those days was situated nearly on that spot, fell under the Mussulman yoke. The pagodas were demolished, the idols mutilated, and a magnificent mosque erected on the very place where the principal Hindu temple had stood, which was not far from the palace of Paitowra himself, the ruins of which are still shown. This happened in the reign of Sultaun Shaab O'Deen, who was the founder of the said mosque, and also of a lofty tower, or minar, of six stories, near the entrance. The roof of the mosque is fallen in; but the tower, though it had been struck with lightning in the upper story, remains still tolerably perfect. It appears to be 300 feet in height, and has been built with great care and niceness. Many verses of the Koran are carved on the stones in large letters; and the whole seems to have been intended as a lasting monument of the Islam, and to set forth its superiority to the Hindu worship. About the mosque, some fragments of the idols, and a column of metals mixed, about 25 feet high, with some Shanscreet characters cut on it, are still to be seen. The characters are said to be very ancient and illegible; but I strongly suspect the contrary. The column had been erected as a charm, by the father or grandfather of the Rajah Paitowra, by the advice of his astrologers, brahmins and priests, with many ridiculous and superstitious ceremonies, and after consulting the stars and idols, in the foolish opinion that while it lasted the empire would remain in his posterity. The event did not justify the expectation; but the Gentoos are not backward in finding out reasons for it. Be it as it will, Sultaun Shaab O'Deen, to shew his contempt for it and their religion altogether, suffered it to remain standing in the front of his mosque, and strewed the pavement with the broken idols. Such has, in more than one instance, been the fate of the unhappy Hindus, who certainly, from their meekness and spirit of tolerance, seem to deserve a far better. Many reflections occur in this place, but I will not unnecessarily swell my account.

I shall now say a word of the climate of this place, which is indeed excellent and salubrious, particularly out of the town. Formerly, innumerable

gardens and orchards surrounded this place; but the wars, and their followers, have scarcely left a tree in its environs. The road to Agra and Lahore had, heretofore, *a minar, with a well and stand, at every* $1\frac{3}{4}$ *of a coss* (or about three miles) asunder; and it is said *there were trees planted on each side of the road.* If ever such an avenue existed, it has long ago been destroyed.

You mention the devastation of Nadir Shah's Guzlebaches, as having been the original cause of the ruin of this place. It is certain that Nadir's invasion may be looked upon as the first cause of the fall of the empire; not so much on account of the riches he carried away, as from the inefficacy and weakness of the measures which were taken to oppose him. This showed the infirmity and feebleness of the great machine of government; and advantage was taken of it, afterwards, by the great Omrahs, to render themselves independent, and throw off the mask; though even this would not have happened, had Mahommed Shah been succeeded by a prince worthy of wielding a sceptre. But Ahmed Shah had no sooner been acknowledged his successor, than he seemed to take a pleasure in removing, as fast as possible, the good opinion which had been formed of him during the life of his father when he had the good fortune to repulse Abdallah, in the first attempt he made to invade Hindustan, and to oblige him to retire with precipitation. This had gained him great credit and people expected to see a second Akber on the throne; but they soon had reason to think otherwise. He gave himself up entirely to the drinking of wine, bang, chirrus, and other intoxicating liquors, and left an eunuch (Nabab Bahauder), the gallant of his mother, the sole disposer of every thing, to the disgust of all potent Omrahs. Trouble and rebellion followed. Ahmed Shah was plundered at Sicanda, 20 coss from this place, in the Dooawb, of all he had (his zanana even not escaping), by a body of Mahrattas, which Gazy O'Deen Khan sent for that purpose in revenge for some ill office he had received from the King through his favourites. Ahmed Shah was, soon afterwards, deprived of his throne and sight at Delhi, by Akbut Mahmood Khan, Gazy O'Deen Khan's tutor; and from that period may be dated the total ruin and subversion of the empire, and of this city in particular. The enmity that subsisted among the great Omrahs, and the late doings of Gazy, obliged him, for his own safety, to maintain a large body of mercenary Mahrattas and Rohillas; and, as most of the revenues of the empire were withheld by the different viceroys, he was under the necessity of seizing, not only on the royal treasury, but also on every thing which could be turned into cash, in order to have wherewith to satisfy the clamorous demands of his troops for pay. The silver ceilings of the Divan Khas, and other places. were ripped up and coined. The curiosities, arms, books, furniture, and other effects of value, which had been collecting for many years before by the different Emperors, were seized, and

sold for perhaps not one tenth part of their real value, or given to the soldiers in part of their pay. In short every thing was dissipated, and ruin threatened everywhere. But this was not all. The soldiers, mutinous, ill-paid and under no discipline or constraint, committed every kind of outrage in the unfortunate city, unpunished or unnoticed. The Rohillas, in particular, under Nujhib Khan, afterwards Nujhib al Dowlah, were conspicuous for every kind of violence that the most barbarous and savage of men had ever been guilty of. They alone were the principal cause of the destruction of this once opulent and splendid city. The devastations and plunders of Nadir Shah, and Ahmed Shah Abdallah, were like violent tempests which, for the time, carried every thing before them, but soon subsided; whereas the waste and havock made by the Rohillas resembled pestilential gales, which keep up a continual agitation, and finally destroy a country. Certain it is, their very name is in detestation in this place, notwithstanding the mildness of Nujhib al Dowlah's administration, when he had, afterwards, by the interference of Abdallah, the government of the city and environs conferred on him, which he enjoyed, with credit and reputation, to his death.

Tavernier and Bernier are the only two travellers, that I know of, who have ever given any tolerable account of Delhi and its court; the first, during the latter end of Shah Jehan's reign; the last, while Aureng Zeeb sat on the throne. They are both worthy of credit, at least when they speak of what they have themselves seen.—Bernier, in particular, was a man of abilities and letters. Tavernier, from his profession of merchant-jeweller, had opportunities of seeing many things in that branch, which few others would have had. But, exclusive of that, both he and Bernier were kept at a great distance, and had no other opportunities of being informed than what they could pick up in common with others. Neither of them were permitted to enter the superb mausoleum of Shah Jehan at Agra (I question), not even into the garden that surrounds it. They were debarred entrance into the mosques, holy places, nay, even into the presence of the great Omrahs. From that, an idea may be formed of what they were able to describe, and what they were not.

The Abbate D. Matteo Ripa in Calcutta in 1709—II.*

IF you wish to know the reason why the said Father and other religious are so ignorant, you must know that the Most Serene Kings of Portugal, in their zeal for the extension and maintaining of our Holy Faith in the Indies, have ordained that none of their officers or sailors, who go to those parts and may wish to embrace the Religious State, be in any way hindered from doing so; and,—since it may be said with more truth of those Missions that *Messis multa, Operarii autem pauci*, in other words that, great as the harvest is, few are the Evangelical labourers,—in compliance with the above order, and to recruit a certain number of them, Missionaries of different Orders go on board the Portuguese ships, the moment they reach the harbour of Goa, and ask in a loud voice whether there is anyone who wishes to join their Institute. Now, among so many there is always someone or other who during the dangers of the voyage has made a vow to amend his life and embrace the Religious State, or who, disgusted with a life of hardships, [215] wishes to enter Religion, perhaps in the hope of leading a more comfortable life; and, as they who offer themselves are easily received, whoever they be, it happens that some are very ignorant, and others, which is worse, are little edifying; and, as some of them, through the scandal they give to the new Christians and the Pagans, destroy sometimes all the good which many fervent and zealous Labourers have effected, this experience taught me to insert in our Rules that none of ours, whether a Member (*Congregato*), or a Student (*Collegiale*), should be trusted to be sent to those Missions, before having lived three years at least in Community and given proofs of the genuineness of his vocation and the purity of his doctrine. I thought it better that few should be sent, provided they be good, than many, even should there be but one of bad repute. I had rather that the Community should be burdened with the upkeep of those Students who are not yet endowed with all the qualities demanded by our rule, than to send them to those parts to the danger and harm of souls. And I wish that the Superiors of this our Sacred Family, to whom it belongs to choose and propose

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candidates to the Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, be always and for ever most careful in this matter.[1]

After taking dinner with the said good Augustinian Father, I returned, I said, to Signor Bernabì's, and I settled and concluded the question of our embarkation. I found in his house a Jesuit Father,[2] who took me to see the [216] Church—a fine one—of those English Heretics,[3] and the tombs of the same Heretics.[4] They are made in the shape of very neat little houses, and the Tamarind tree, which grows there, is so famous among the English that, when they return to London and speak of what they have seen, they make a special mention of the Tamarind tree of Golicatan.[5]

[1] It may be doubted whether the Kings of Portugal ever issued orders favourable to the recruitment of Missionaries among the men of their fleet It was rather the other way. On several occasions they made regulations to prevent their sailors and soldiers from deserting the ranks for Religion. In fact a large number of the men deserted; but comparatively few found their way into religious houses. There were too many other openings more congenial to them · trading on their own account, piracy, enlisting under native rulers, by whom they were specially valued as gunners or gun-founders, etc Travellers' accounts teem with accusations like that of Ripa. What may have given rise to these accusations is that not unfrequently, during the voyage out, Missionaries gained over to their order and to missionary work in Asia young soldiers and sailors; so did they among the passengers. But, to represent the ships arriving at Goa as boarded by the agents of the different Orders, and calling, clamouring (*gritando*) for subjects to join their Institutes, would seem to be one of those exaggerations of Luillier's, against which Barnaby cautioned Ripa. Luillier writes · "[The Augustinian Religious of "Chinsurat" Hugli] do not live with all the regularity possible, at which I am not surprised. For at Goa, when a ship comes from Europe, any one of the crew who wishes to become a Religious has but to present himself: however ignorant, he is received, without their examining whether he has the Religious spirit, or not." (p. 65). There remains, however, the fact that Superiors of Orders were at times indiscreet in the selection of candidates presenting themselves in India, and that some Missionaries, living far away from the control of their Superiors and Bishops, fell below the mark of zeal and holiness demanded by their high vocation At a later date we find 5 apostate priests in Calcutta.

[2] This Jesuit Father was probably one of the two at Chandernagar. Another Jesuit, Fr. Zech, was at Bandel.

[3] This was the Church of St. Anne, which stood immediately outside the fort before the east curtain wall. It was built in the days of the Rotation Government (1704—1710 ?) and consecrated on the Sunday after Ascension Day, June 5, 1709. Cf. C. R. WILSON, *Old Fort William*, I. XIX. It was just completing, therefore, when Ripa saw it. This Church was destroyed during the troubles of 1756, and was replaced by St. John's.

[4] This cemetery is the churchyard of the present St. John's (Church of England). (*Ibid.*, I. 69 *n.* 5; 223 *n.* 5). In 1702, a mud wall 4 cubits high was ordered to be built round it to prevent "the Hoggs often breaking over the Ditch and other Inconveniencys" (I. 52). The ditches round it fell in during the rains (1711), and to case them with brick would have meant an "immense charge" (I. 87). The swamps in the neighbourhood were filled up in 1717 (I 107). The great storm of September 30, 1737, damaged the walls round it (I. 150). In September 1757 the wall is again reported as being down in many places (II. 132). Finally, on November 28, 1766, it was proposed to remove it to a distant and convenient spot, (*i. e.*, Park Street). II. 181.

Asiaticus published in 1803 nine inscriptions of persons who had been buried in the English Cemetery before 1709. Prominent in it was the mausoleum of Job Charnock, "the father of Calcutta," who died on January 10, 1692, and whose tomb is supposed to be the oldest piece of masonry now in Calcutta.

[5] Capt Alexander Hamilton wrote between 1688 and 1723 "Mr. Job Charnock being then the Company's Agent in Bengal, he had the liberty to settle an emporium in any part on the river's side below Hooghly, and for the sake of a large shady tree chose that place, though he could not have chosen a more unhealthy place, on the river....." In Tekchand Thakur (Piyari Chand Mitra)'s *Aláler ghaṛer Dulál* (The spoilt Child of the house of Alal), written about 1854, we find (ch. 7): "Job Charnock was often passing and repassing by the place of Bothukkháná; there was an immense tree there, and, sitting at the foot of it, he would rest and smoke tobacco; at that place many merchants would meet. He had so much affection for the shade of that tree that he resolved to fix his factory there." (I am indebted for this quotation to the Rev. Fr. A. Durier of Chandernagar).

The seventh of the same month of February, after I had celebrated Holy Mass, and while I stood before the church, talking with a Franciscan Father,[1] I saw coming towards us from afar four Europeans, their dress being different from that of the Indians. When they came close, I recognised my four companions whom I had left on board. When I left them, they were miserably lean, and two of them were at death's door, and here they came, so blooming and stout that I had never seen them so well during the whole of our voyage. I could never have imagined that breathing the land breeze and a diet of broth, cabbages, and suchlike vegetables boiled with goat, pork, and beef would in so short a time cure such a dangerous illness. To tell the truth, I was so surprised that I asked myself at first whether my eyes did not play me false, whether it was not some apparition; but no, it was they. Such is precisely the nature of scurvy that inhaling the land air and a diet of broth and fresh meat cooked with vegetables cures it.

I went with my companions to Signor Bernabì. Besides offering us breakfast, he invited us [217] all to dinner, as also a Jesuit Father, to whom he gave for his amusement Monsieur Luillié's printed journey to Bengala.[2] It was full of mistakes, he said, the author having written it without being well informed about the country. The same happened to me on my return from China. A relation of that vast Empire came into my hands, and, on reading it, both I and another, who had also been an Evangelical labourer in that Vineyard of the Lord, we could not help laughing at the great number of things which were so utterly beside the truth. Such mistakes happen, I believe, when the writer, who either has not remained long in a place or is not very

The tree at *Baithákhánd*—I take this to be the correct spelling—was a peepul-tree. It stood at the junction of Bow Bazar Street and Lower Circular Road, and "was removed by the Marquess of Hastings in 1820, in pursuance of his schemes for the improvement of the city, but not without lament and prophecy of evil from the superstitious." (Cf. H. E. A. COTTON, *Calcutta Old and New*, Calcutta, 1907, p. 9, and also RAJA BINAYA KRISHNA DEB, *The Early Hist. and Growth of Calcutta*, 1905, p. 65).

I should think that the peepul-tree at *Baithákhánd* was not the one which Charnock was so much taken up with. 1st. Could the famous peepul-tree of 1820 have been a conspicuous landmark from the river in 1690? 2ndly. Why should Charnock have gone to the very end of the town to smoke his hookah, when close to the factory there was such a marvellous tree? 3rdly. The marvellous tree which was so much spoken of in 1709, even in London, was not a peepul-tree, but a tamarind-tree. It stood in the English Cemetery. Was it not, perhaps, deference for Charnock's hobby which marked it as a fitting last resting-place for him? We cannot help thinking that the present tradition is inaccurate. It would embody still the fact of Charnock's predilection for a particular tree; but, after its disappearance, tradition may easily have shifted the scene of Charnock's day-dreams to another wonderful tree.

[1] Apparently one of the two at Chandernagar. Cf. *infra*.

[2] *Voyage du Sieur Luillier aux Grandes Indes* [1702], Paris, 1705, 12°.—There is an English translation of 1715. Luillier came out to Bengal with a cousin of his, Melle Françoise Moisy, who was engaged to be married to the Director of the French factory, M. Pierre Dulivier. (Cf. IRVINE, *Storia do Mogor*, IV. 78*n*.)

In the Marriage Registers at the Mairie, Chandernagar, we find that G. Luillier was one of the witnesses at the marriage of Pierre Dulivier with Françoise Moisy (Sept. 11, 1702). Dulivier was from Bayonne; "Françoise Moisy, born at London, and heretofore residing at Tours, Parish of St. Pierre du Brice, daughter of Nicolas Moisy, a merchant for the Royal Co. of France, and dame Catherine Luillier, both at present of this parish [Notre Dame du Salut]..." The marriage was solemnised by Father Quencin, S. J.

experienced, writes down whatever he hears from ignorant or ill-informed persons, or when he copies other authors without distinguishing between what is correct and what is not. To avoid such a serious mistake, anyone who has not remained long enough in a place to be accurately informed, should follow the advice of writing only of what he has himself seen or ascertained from experienced and trustworthy people. And if there is question of affairs and controversies of greater moment, the advice given me in 1706 by the Abbate Pascoli, a former Apostolic Missionary in the Indies, was not to write of such matters before one has learned the language of the country, and has become quite conversant with the things one wishes to write about. I followed his advice and had good reason [**218**] to thank the Lord for it, because others who succumbed to a *pruritus scribendi*, when they had scarcely arrived in those Missions, were put to the shame of having to retract their own statements. As far as Signor Bernarbi [*sic*] was concerned, it was not difficult for our two companions to obtain a berth on the same ship as ourselves. The difficulty came from the Captain, when he heard that we had with us many trunkloads of second-hand books which we had bought very cheap from the London booksellers, books which must have belonged to libraries confiscated from Catholic Missionaries. His ship being already heavily loaded, the Captain could not take in more cargo; so, we were obliged to travel in two ships: Fabri, Cerù, and Perrone in Bernabì's ship, Signor Amodei and myself in that of a Catholic Armenian, who for God's sake gave us also free board and passage. Both he and Signor Bernabì treated us much better all through the voyage than if we had paid them a big sum of money.

On the tenth, we went all five of us by the river to Sciantanagor,[1] where the French have their Factory, and where many merchants reside. Here, as well as in the Factory of the Dutch, which is in another place, there are big pieces of artillery, and such is the enormous power of the Grand Seignior of the Great Mogol that this Grand Seignior does not resent it. The French Jesuit Fathers have a hospice and a church at Sciantanagor, and there were two Fathers in charge;[2] there is also another hospice belonging to the Capuchin Fathers, Missionaries of the Sacred Congregation de [**219**] Propaganda Fide, who reside there for the sake of their Missions in Tibet. Here, too, there were

[1] Chandernagar.

[2] One of the two Jesuits must have been Fr. Gervais Papin. Born at le Mans, September 12, 1656, admitted March 9, 1689; after his studies left for India with Father Tachard ('95); at Pondicherry ('97-98); in Bengal ('99-1700); still there in 1701-04; at Chandernagar in 1703, we have letters from him dated Chandernagar, December 18, 1709, and 1711 (*Lettr. Edif.*, 1781, XI. 253-261, 261-269); died, January 3, 1712. Cf. SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibl. de la C. de J.*, VI. 185; W IRVINE, *Storia do Mogor*, IV. 146 *n.* 2.

The second Jesuit was most likely Fr. Vautrin Baudré, born at Saint Mihiel, December 17, 1666; admitted into the Society, October 16, '86; arrived in India in 1702; a letter from Pondicherry, September 30 1703 (*Lettr. Edif.*, 1781, X. 336) says he is in Bengal with Frs. Quencin and Papin; there are letters of his from Chandernagar of Jan. 4, and Dec. 5, 1712; † in 1715. Cf. SOMMERVOGEL, *Op. cit.*, I. 1050; VIII. 1779). I modify some of Sommervogel's dates. Baudré was a mathematician

two Fathers, *viz.*, Father Fra Felice da Montecchio and Father Fra Giovanni da Fano.[1] Signor Amodei and I stayed with the Capuchins, while the other three lodged with the Jesuits, who had invited them.

In the garden of the said Capuchins I saw for the first time on a tree a fruit which tickled my curiosity so much that I must describe it. It is called Giacca, or *Taqua*,[2] as the Portuguese write it. The tree was of the size of a moderate oak and the fruit is of the size of a bag of middling size, about four palms long and proportionately thick, *viz.*, a little less than two palms in

and astronomer. "I found in Bengal," wrote Father Duchamp in 1732, "several astronomical methods; these are dr awn up by Father Baudré; but, a part has been lost and the other is not always exact."

No names of Jesuit priests, nor mention of any marriage appears in the oldest Marriage Register of Chandernagar under 1709. Fr. Baudré appears as Curé in 1708, and 1711-14. The marriage register consists merely of extracts made in Paris (1837) from the original registers. I have not at hand my notes on the Baptismal Registers.

[1] The hospice of the Capuchins is now the Convent of the Immaculate Conception. Near it, the gate of the Chapel of Our Lady of Loreto bears the date 1720, not 1726 as *Asiaticus* (1803, Pt. If p. 41) has it. The S. C. de Propaganda Fide on Dec. 14, 1720, granted to the Capuchins of Chandernagar to say on Dec. 10 in the Church of their Hospice the Office and Mass proper for the Translation of the Holy House of Loreto. Other priests visiting the Chapel were allowed to say the Mass proper to the Feast. Cf. *Bullar. Patron. Portug. Regum*, Olisipone, III, 1873, p. 192.

Some Capuchins had arrived at Chandernagar in 1706. On July 19, 1707, some of them reached Lassa. Fr. Felice da Montecchio arrived at Chandernagar in 1706, and remained there with Br. Fiacre of Paris as Procurator of the Mission. It is probably he who opened the Mission of Patna in 1706. Fr. Giovanni da Fano reached Lassa in 1711. Fr. Felix, O. C., Lahore Mission, has collected ample materials on all the Capuchins of the Tibet Mission.

Some of the Capuchins who died at Chandernagar were probably buried in the Chapel of their hospice. But, I have found in the Burial Registers of the Mairie, which go back to Sept. 2, 1770, that between 1773 and 1818 the Capuchins as well as several other priests—11 in number—were buried in the mortuary chapel of the public cemetery, or at the foot of the Cross which stood there formerly. Fathers Joseph François († Oct. 15, 1785) and Julien († May 13, 1805) both Capuchins, were buried in the mortuary Chapel in the cemetery. No inscription was erected to any of them. Such was the practice too in our other Churches in Bengal, because the clergy were buried in a common grave This may explain why not a single grave of the Jesuits who died at Chandernagar can now be traced. Elsewhere in Bengal, however, *e. g*, at Bandel and at our Murghihátá Cathedral, the practice was to bury clergymen in the churches, as also a surprisingly large number of the laity.

Mme Marie-Jeanne-Françoise-Xavier Renault, widow of Sieur Jean-Baptiste-Edesse (?)—Hubert Chambon, aged 76 years, was buried in the Chapel of O. L. of Loretto at the Hospice on Aug. 28, 1811.

None of the Nuns remembers to have seen in the Chapel any inscription to the memory of Capuchin pr iests. But, some remember that in the portico before the Chapel there were 3 stones, one of which, between the two pillars on the Gospel side, bore an Armenian inscription. One of the Nuns say s that at the same spot one of the stones (about 7′×4′) had the name of one Père de la Tour, who she thinks was a Capuchin. The only approximate name I can think of is that of Père François Marie de Tours. He arrived at Chandernagar in 1706, reached Lassa in 1707, where he stayed 5 months, according to one account, or till 1712, according to another. Different authorities place his death at Patna, Singhia and Pondichery. He had been in Persia and at Surat, where he composed his *Thesaurus linguae Indianae*.

Father Felix, O. C., writes from Maryabad, Gujranwala District, Panjab, (June 7, 1914): "I can state on the best authority I have that Father Francis de Tours died at Pondicherry, and he certainly died before 1720, when the new Church of Chandernagor [the Chapel of the Capuchin Hospice] was built and completed. I know of no other Capuchin Father de Tours [or de la Tour] who ever was in that station."

There was also a tomb with a stone near the holy-water stoup, at the entrance, on the left; whether it had an inscription cannot be remembered. Finally, a stone without inscription marked the tomb of Sister Maria MacMahon, in the centre of the Chapel, 7 paces from the communion rails. All these stones were covered some 20 years ago, when the Chapel was cemented. The archæologist must regret it.

[2] *Taqua* is an evident misprint for Jaqua, Iaqua.

diameter; and because, if this fruit were to grow on the branches like other fruits, the branches would certainly not be able to bear its weight, Nature has wisely ordained that it should grow on the trunk. In the Island of Zeilan, in Malacca, and other parts of the Indies, they say that it grows from the roots underground, and the Indians know that it is ripe when they smell at the foot of the tree an unwonted odour emanating from the fruit.[1] Those which hang from the trunk, they cut down when they have reached their proper consistency, and hang them up in their houses: and they know the fruit is ripe when it begins to emit a very sweet smell. Then, they make a cut into it, through which they pull out with their hand day after day a great quantity of yellow pods, which are very sweet, and each of them contains, like the [220] date, a small nut which, when roasted, has the taste of chestnuts.

What surprised me too, was the fig, both the tree and the fruit. The trunk of the tree, about twenty palms high by one palm, more or less, in diameter, is not ligneous, like that of other trees, but a mass of leaves, one within the other like an onion; hence, it is so tender that it can ea sily be cut with a knife. This tree has no twigs; it ends in the leaves, which around the top of the stem bend over in the shape of palm-leaves. These leaves are about four palms broad and very long, and they are not divided like those of the date-tree, but entire. It produces fruit only once, and as early as six months after having been planted; and, as it is planted at all times, these excellent fruits can be had plentifully in the Indies all the year round. The fruit hangs down towards the ground from the top of the stem, and resembles a bunch of grapes, but one as much as three palms long and about a palm in diameter, while some grapes—a bunch has at times as many as a hundred—grow to the length of a palm or less, the girth being that of a middle-sized hen's egg. When the cluster has reached its proper consistency, they pluck it, hang it up in their houses, and take the grapes in proportion as they see them turn yellow, for they do not become yellow at the same time. To eat the fruit, you take away the rind, and eat the inner pulp together with some [221] tender small black seeds, the taste being very good. The tree is cut down when it has given its fruit, and sprouts spring up in its stead, which are transplanted and yield a bunch each after six months. Among our European Christians in the Indies it is commonly said that our first parents, Adam and Eve, covered themselves with the leaves of this tree in the earthly Paradise, one being enough to cover half of a man's body; and it was a Heretical

[1] Hwen T'sang (c. A. D. 650) already says of the jack-fruits in Bengal that they grow sometimes from the roots, like the *fo-ling* [Radix Chinæ], which is found under the ground. Friar Jordanus wrote in the same way (c. 1328) that the fruits grow down to the very roots. So too Nicolo de' Conti (c. 1440): "Sometimes the fruit is also found growing from the roots of the tree underground, and these fruits excel the others in flavour, wherefore they are sent to Kings and petty princes. These (moreover) have no kernels inside them." Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. jack.

surgeon who first made me remark besides that, when the fruit is cut across, it shows the image of a Crucifix.[1]

I was also particularly pleased to see and eat the ananas (*Ananasos*): hence, I wish to describe also here this other Indian fruit. It is produced, not by a tree, but by a plant which resembles somewhat the aloe. It looks at first sight like a pine-cone, and that is why the Spaniards properly call it Pinnas. The smallest of these fruits is like a big pine-cone, and the biggest measure more than a palm in length and half a palm in diameter. When the green skin is removed with a knife, a yellow pulp appears, which is hard like that of an unripe apple, and has the smell of musk; the taste, which is between sweet and sour, is very pleasant, especially when the slices have been steeped in water mixed with sugar. Even when still unripe, it can be preserved, and it is exported that way to Spain, where it is highly prized. Of its nature it is wholesome, but so hot that, if you leave [**222**] a knife in it for a day only, they say it spoils and consumes it.[2] I saw this plant, as also other Indian trees and their fruit, such as the coffee-tree, in Vienna, where Prince Eugene, that great Hero of modern history, had imported them. I saw there too the coffee-tree with its fruit, all these trees being planted in a glass-house, where by means of stoves they imitated the hot climate of the Indies.

There is still another fruit, the Papaya. Having bought two of them, I thought at first they were melons of the kind which the Neapolitans call Turkish; but, they differed in their seeds, which are like pepper. This plant, which I saw also in other places of the Indies which I visited, and again in Macao and Canton, produces fruit every month of the year, flowers and fruits yet unripe being found on it at the same time. The fruits are more fragrant than our melons, which they partly resemble in taste; and they grow round the top of the tree's stem like dates.[3] On my return from China, I brought seeds with me, and planted them here. They grew four palms high, when, the winter supervening, they dried up, the trunk of the biggest tree of this kind

[1] Yule would have called this an admirable description of the plantain-tree (*Musa sapientum*). The *Musa paradisiaca* is the banana, though it is hard to understand where the difference between plantain and banana is supposed to be drawn. "The specific name *paradisiaca* is derived from the old belief of Oriental Christians (entertained also, if not originated, by the Mahomedans) that this was the tree from whose leaves Adam and Eve made themselves aprons. A further mystical interest attached also to the fruit, which some believed to be the forbidden apple of Eden. For in the pattern formed by the core or seeds, when the fruit was cut across, our forefathers discerned an image of the Cross, or even of the Crucifix. Medieval travellers generally call the fruit either *Musa*, or 'Fig of Paradise' or sometimes 'Fig of India.'" *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. plantain. Gul. de Boltensele (1336), John de' Marignoli (c. 1350) and Simone Sigoli (1384) are quoted as speaking of the image of the *Crucifix*. "In this fruit," writes the latter, "you see a very great miracle, for when you divide it any way, whether lengthways or across, or cut it as you will, you shall see inside, as it were, the image of the Crucifix, and of this we comrades many times made proof." I succeeded only when cutting the fruit across, and found a cross rather than a crucifix.

[2] Jahángír states that the fruit came from the sea-ports in the possession of the Portuguese. It was introduced from America. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v., pine-apple. The Spanish word for it was *pina* from its resemblance to a pine-cone.

[3] According to van Linschoten, the papaya was introduced into India from the Philippines *viâ* Malacca.

being so tender that you could easily cut through it with a penknife. I do not speak of the other fruits, both because they do not deserve any special mention, and because I shall have to speak of some of them further.

The day after our arrival at Sciantanagor, we were invited all five of us to dine at the house of [223] Monsieur the Director of the French Factory. He honoured us with three toasts, all three of which we drank to the firing of artillery. The first he proposed to the health of Cardinal de Tournon; the second to ours and the happy success of our Mission, and the third to a prosperous journey.[1]

On the thirteenth, the first day of Lent, my four companions left for Golicatan, while I went by the Ganges to Bandel, where I arrived after an hour and a half's journey. This is a small settlement, where in olden times a Portuguese Factory flourished. Christianity flourishes here now, and they told me generally that no Heretic is allowed to reside in it. Here there is a House of the Jesuit Fathers, with a fine Church,[2] which was taken care of by only one Father, *viz.*, Federico Zech, a German, whom all esteem for his great piety.[3] I heard the Portuguese sermon which he preached to the Native Christians, for nearly all in those parts know that language, though in a corrupt form. Next, I went to the Convent of the Augustinian Fathers. It was inhabited by six religious,[4] whom I saw officiating in the Church in the same way as in Europe. The Church is also very pretty; it has a nave and two aisles (*tre navi*).[5]

The same evening, I returned to Sciantanagor. As I was walking there one morning on the bank of the river, I noticed a large number of men, natives, who were bathing in it quite naked, and but a few paces away,

[1] Pierre Dulivier was the Director or Chief at Chandernagar between 1701 and 1706. He was replaced in 1708 by Sieur François de Flacourt, who had married the daughter of a Dutch preacher of Utrecht. Cf. W. IRVINE, *Storia do Mogor* by Manucci, IV. 76 *n.* 1; 215 *n.* 2.

Luillier relates the marriage of his cousin with Monsieur Dulivier on September 11, 1702. It was marked by salvos of artillery and musketry at daybreak, at the first Gospel, at the Consecration, at the last Gospel. The Mass was "in music." At the banquet, every toast was announced by a salvo from the guns. *Op cit.*, pp, 60-61.

[2] The name San Paolo clings still to a garden some distance N. W. of Bandel Church, and marks that it was once tenanted by Paulists or Jesuits. The Church was dedicated to Our Lady's Nativity. Already in Fr. Tieffentaller's time (1765) it was nearly completely ruined. It may be noted that Ripa mentions no *College* at Hugli, but only a House and Church I urged the Archæological Department in 1911 to undertake some excavations on the site in the hope of discovering the grave of Bishop Laynez, but was told that they could not afford any financial help. The object, though worthy in itself, was too remote from the subject of Indian Archæology as such! Is Christian archæology no part of Indian archæology? In January 1914, I uncovered part of the foundations of the walls of what was either the House or Church of the Jesuits of Hugli.

[3] Zech (Czech) Frederic, a German, born at Munchen (Bavaria) in 1678 (elsewhere · Prague. March 22, 1667, Breithenfurth, Silesia, Breslau, Bracten); came to India in 1699, in 1699-1700, Fishery Coast, studies Tamil; 1701, Ramessuram; 1705-11, Rector in Bengal; made his profession at Ugulim (Hugli) in 1710; we have letters from him dated Ugolim, Nov. 16, 1705, Nov. 22, 1709, and 1710, 1718-22, Rector of S. Thomé, 1722, Rector in Bengal; † about 1729 Cf. *App. ad Catal. Miss. Madurensis pro anno* 1912, p. 53; HUONDER, *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionare*; FRANCO, *Synopsis Annal Prov Portug. S. J.*; SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibl. de la C. de J.*, III and IX. 1762.

[4] A rather large number for the Catholics left at Hugli. Perhaps, some of the priests has come from elsewhere, *e.g*, from Chinsurah, for the ceremonies of Ash-Wednesday.

[5] It is the present Church of Bandel.

within sight of the men, were a number of women, also quite naked, and occupied in the same function;[1] yet, the men did not look towards the women, nor did the women look at the men: [224] on both sides they were busy washing themselves, without the slightest immodesty. I was indeed most edified by that great modesty in those Idolaters; but, when I praised it to the aforesaid Capuchin Father Felice, he explained the mystery to me and told me, what I still heard from others, that the Idolaters of the Great Mogol believe the water of the Ganges to be so holy that it has the virtue of purifying the soul from every stain of sin, while the body is being cleansed in it. And so there are many families which earn their livelihood simply by carrying inland for sale vases filled with this water. And, because the men and the women had contracted many faults during the previous night, they were washing themselves to be cleansed and absolved from them; hence their modesty during this action, lest they should sully their conscience again.

On the same occasion, I noticed among the bathers a man with a mirror in one hand and his face turned towards the sun. With the other hand he took water and threw it on different parts of his body as if in the form of a cross, and his lips moved as if he was saying some vocal prayers. This one, the same Capuchin told me, was a worshipper of the Sun, and with these ceremonies he was paying it a special worship.

In the whole Empire of the Great Mogol, of which Bengal is a Province, the three principal religions are: Idolatry, the most wide-spread of all, but divided into many, many sects; [225] Maomettism, the religion of that Grand Seignior and of the whole Government; but, as they do not compel anyone to follow their religion, the number of the Idolaters is greater, there being, as far as can be calculated, twenty Idolaters to one Maomettan; finally, there is Christianity, mostly Catholic, which is scattered in various places.

It is well known that our Holy Faith was preached in those parts by the Apostle Saint Thomas, martyred at Meliapor on the Coromandel Coast. Then it deteriorated towards the sect of the infamous Nestorius, but was restored, on the advent of the Portuguese arms, by means of zealous Apostolic Missionaries, who in different places incessantly watered the soil with their sweat. The Portuguese were much helped in this holy undertaking by an ancient and constant tradition of a prophecy of the Apostle Saint Thomas, which had been left inscribed, for the remembrance of ages to come, on a stone-pillar erected not far from the walls of Meliapor. It said in the characters proper to the country that the Religion planted by him would flourish again when the sea, then forty miles away, would have reached this pillar, at which time there would be seen in those parts white men from distant lands to restore the Religion

[1] We may say without fear of mistake that Ripa is wrong here. Probably, he saw the bathers wa ist-deep in the water and he concluded that they were *del tutto ignudi*.

preached by him. This was entirely verified when the Portuguese landed in the Indies.[1] The Missionaries converted not only a great number of the Nestorians, but an even greater number of Pagans, the Maomettan Government forbidding only [226] that they should convert the Moors. It is their maxim that the faith of Maumet is better than that of Christ, but that our Holy Faith is better than that of the Idolaters. Accordingly, they esteem a Christian more than an Idolater. The English, the Dutch, and the Danes, wishing to imitate us Catholics, have imported into those parts their several kinds of preachers; but the grace of God is not with them, and their evil lives, being out of keeping with the teaching of Jesus Christ which they preach, their Missionaries have achieved no result. The Idolaters, according to their different sects, have Temples, Priests, Prayers, and Idols. Among the countless errors, in which an infinite number of these benighted Idolaters live, is that of the transmigration of souls: this explains their special affection for all sorts of animals and insects, which they do not kill, nor eat the flesh of, but feed most carefully, to the extent of having hospitals for lice and fleas. People even pay a high price to let them with impunity suck their blood for some time. They are convinced, indeed, that after death their souls have to pass into the body of some animals more or less unclean, in proportion to the greater or smaller number of sins or good actions they have performed in life. They love and venerate, above all, rams (*montoni*) and cows, because they believe very foolishly that they supported the earth on their horns, and that a cow appeased the wrath of their Idol, Mahadeu, when he wished to destroy the Universe in punishment for the sins of [227] men. Another fable of theirs is that after death they will have to pass a big river, and they will not be able to pass it unless they cling very strongly to the tail of some ram (*montone*) or cow. Accordingly, on rising from their bed in the morning, just as we sign our forehead with holy water, so do they defile it with cowdung, and thus defiled they go about the whole day and transact their affairs. And just as we consider ourselves happy, if a priest of holy life assists us in our last moments, so do they consider it as the happiest omen, and a guarantee that they will be able to cross at once the fabulous stream, if in their agony they can have a cow near them and hold her by the tail. Should the animal void herself while they expire, they take it for the clearest sign of hoped-for bliss, assured that they will migrate into that very cow. On the death of the Idolater, this cow is kept and sumptuously fed, and the relatives of the deceased show her all the regard and give her all the tokens of esteem and affection which they would have

[1] We refrain from commenting on these Mailapur traditions about the distance of the town from the sea, and the purport of the inscription found. Let it suffice to say that the inscription in Pehlvi characters found at Mailapur in the first half of the XVIth century was erroneously explained until Burnell and others interpreted it. Cf. Mgr. MEDLYCOTT'S, *India and the Apostle St. Thomas*, London, 1905 H. E Mgr. L M. Zaleski has published at Mangalore, Codialbail Press, *The Apostle St. Thomas. History. Tradition and Legend.* 1912.

given to the defunct himself, when he was alive. These superstitions in regard to these animals, in particular the cow, being so strong, when some of them are converted to our Holy Faith, the first trial the Missionary makes of the sincerity of their conversion is to make them eat beef, to them a very hard and arduous trial, both on account of their natural repugnance to such food, and because, if those of their sect come to hear of it, [228] they abominate them as impure, and refuse to eat with them, or drink or converse with them. It was what I experienced with one of that Sect, whom the Lord deigned to convert through me; but I shall speak elsewhere of him and his heathen companion.[1]

Some religious of that Sect take the resolution of becoming holy, and the people, in their ignorance of the dogmas of the true faith, fancy these men have reached the summit of perfection, when they have been seen to stand for a number of years determined by these religious—sometimes 14 years—exposed in the open air or under a tree to all the inclemencies of the weather. Day and night they will remain in the same place, either always standing, or always kneeling, or in some other posture: and I saw one who for years and years had kept his hands and arms always in the same posture, until his nails had become so large that they had grown into his arms, so that, through his own fault, he had become unable to open his hands and was obliged to have himself assisted in all his bodily wants. All the other penitents of that kind are likewise obliged to get themselves helped; and those consider themselves lucky who have a chance of ministering to them...[229].[2] On the death of one of these soi-disant Santones, the religious considers himself lucky who can get hold of a tuft of his hair; he coils it round his head, honours it as a relic, and struts about with it. As I was speaking one day with one of these religious, he boasted that he had on his head hair of sundry late Santones, and showing them to me he said: "This is the hair of such a Santone, and that of such another."[3]

[1] One of the two converts—the only one whose story I have found—proved a failure He was a native sailor from the Coromandel Coast whom Ripa met at Malacca in June 1709. He instructed him, cut his tuft of hair, and made him break his caste by eating beef. At Manilla, the man got drunk. Between Manilla and Macao he behaved all right, but got drunk again the moment he landed at Macao. Ripa had so far postponed his baptism, in the hope of curing him first of his passion for drink. Judge of his surprise when, during the Easter-time of 1710, the man turned up one day saying in high glee that he was a Christian, he had gone to Confession and H. Communion, and proudly showed his ticket of Confession "Where and by whom were you baptised?"—"By yourself, Senhor Padre. Didn't you speak to me repeatedly of the Baptism of desire?" Cf. *Storia*, I. 270-273.

[2] "Ed hanno que' ciechi gentili tanta fede in questi creduti Santoni, che le sterili sono persuase poter felicemente concepire col solo prestar loro certi officj, che l' onestà vuole taciuti. e quando questi han terminato il tempo stabilito dell' intrapresa penitenza, e credesi essere già arrivati alla perfezione, si stima felice quella casa, nella quale entra, e quella donna [229] che possa secondare le sue brutte voglie; tanto che mi dissero varie persone degne di fede aver veduto in un tempio, cosa degna di eterna memoria, dipinta in un letto una figlia di un gran signore, sposata con un Principe suo pari in atto che veniva stuprata da uno di que' creduti santoni."

[3] In spite of exaggerations and misconceptions, Ripa's excursion into the beliefs of Hinduism is not so extravagant as might be thought. The absurdity is rather in the beliefs and practices he describes.

The Capuchin Father Fra Giovanni da Fano related to me that there was at Sciantanagor, not very far from his place, a woman who, aspiring also after this imaginary holiness, stood day and night in a thoroughfare with her hands raised towards the sky. Hearing of her and wishing to see her, he went, and approaching her from behind he judged that she could not naturally remain always motionless without help from the Devil. To find out the truth, he ordered in a low voice the evil spirit in the name of Jesus Christ to depart from her. Hardly had he uttered the injunction, than the woman's arms dropped down, and she, looking round and seeing him, said in her language with an angry and threatening look: "Ah Devil, Devil!" The Father concluded from it [230] that such penances are done with the help of the common enemy, who lords it freely over those parts. By such devices does he keep in darkness those poor pagans redeemed, them too, by the most precious Blood of Jesus Christ; by such devices does he drag them by thousands and thousands into the infernal-pit. And that for want of zealous Evangelical labourers, while many here stand idle or carry but a very few sheaves compared with the vast harvest of the Indies. They shut their eyes, and without pity let so many souls perish daily; they hide their talent, and yet flatter themselves that they will escape the judgment of our Blessed Lord, who clearly declares in Saint Matthew that *he reaps where he sowed not, and gathers where he has not strewed.*[1]

I could say very many things about the many sects to be found in the Great Mogol, as also about the great size of their temples, about the manners of the natives, their diet, the variety of their dress, etc.; but, owing to the short time I spent in Bengala, I could not fully acquaint myself with these particulars: hence, not to expose myself to mistakes, I pass on.

To show still more the providence of God in our behalf, I must not omit to say that, all the time we were in Bengala, we did not spend a *quattrino* on food and lodging. Either we took dinner with those gentlemen who invited us, or we ate what a pious Chinese Christian women [231] charitably sent us. As I said above, I returned from Bandel to the hospice of the Capuchins at Sciantanagor, and the evening of the seventeenth I embarked thence with the Armenian gentlemen who owned (*padroni*) the ship which was to take us to Manilla.[2] I passed through Golicatan, and two days later the same

[1] Matth. XXV. 24.

[2] One of the Armenian gentlemen who travelled to Malacca in the *Santa Croce* was Giovanni Isacar or d' Isacar (cf. pp. 237, 249). He was the chief man in the little fleet of 4 ships going to the Philippines. He had the largest share in the concern, and was styled "the Admiral" Ripa went with him to see the Dutch Governor of Malacca, Pieter Roselar [Rooselaer ?] and presented to him a letter from the Dutch Director of "Cinciurà" of Hugli.

Sir Richard Temple in his *Geographical Account of Countries round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679*, by Thom. Bowrey, Hakluyt Society, Cambridge, 1905, p. 172, *n.* 3, traces the history of one or more ships by the name of *Santa Cruz* between 1676 and 1718. In 1676, T. Bowrey navigated a *Santa Cruz* belonging to Portuguese traders. Before 1685, a *Santa Cruz* belonged to Joseph, brother of the rich Armenian John Demarcora. There was a *Santa Cruze* at Calcutta in 1697. In 1702, a "ship *Santa Cruce* David Marcus Commander arrived from Manilha."

Armenian gentlemen, Signor Amodei, and myself went down the Ganges in a small boat. We arrived in the morning at Poncicali,[1] where there was Bazar or market, and in the evening we arrived at Raspar, also called Giorg-Crux.[2] Here too there was market, for markets are held very often in those parts, even daily, but now in one place, then in another. On the twenty-first, we arrived very early at Paltà,[3] where again there was market. Leaving this, we made a very short stage, as the river was slightly agitated, enough however to upset our Denghi or boat, Denghis being very low-sided. So, we lay at anchor the whole night along the bank of the river, and the next morning, after a short journey, day-break found us with Signor Amodei on board the vessel which had to take us to Manilla. The vessel was called the San Lorenzo and was very small.[4] Nevertheless, there were fifty passengers, twenty-seven of them infidels, *viz.*, Maomettans and Idolaters; among the latter were six young men and three boys, slaves purchased with a view of their being instructed and baptised;[5] the other twenty-three were Catholic Romans, one of them being a Neapolitan sailor. The master (*padrone*) of the ship, one Constantino delle Toille,[6] was a native [232] of Persia, his

[1] Poncicali is probably *Pisacolij* of de Barros' map (c. 1540). C. R. Wilson (*Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, I, map facing p. 130) places it on the East bank about half way between Ulubaria and Hugli Point, while Pacuculi appears on the same side above Ulubaria.

H. Blochmann (*Contributions to the Geogr. and Hist. of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1873, p. 23) says *Penchakuli* is the name of the district opposite the present mouth of the Damúdar, or a little above the northern limit of the Sundarban. It appears as Pisacolij on the West bank of the Hugli in de Blaeuw's map (1650). Cf. the reproduction in Blochmann's article De Blaeuw, however, copies this name, as also Pacuculij, higher on the Eastern bank, from de Barros' map of 1540. De Barros writes Pisacolij and Pacucolij. Cf. *Da Asia*, Decada IV, Pt. II, Lisbon, 1777 p. 450.

[2] Giorg Crux is perhaps=Jorge da Cruz. In 1632, the Portuguese had gardens and property all along the river.

Raspar occurs in the form *Raspas* on the right or W. Bank of the Hugli in T. Bowrey's map of the Hugli (1687). Cf. *Op. cit. supra.* It is marked on the river next below the John Pardo river. This is the only map or book where I have succeeded, after not a little research, to find the name.

[3] Fulta, perhaps equivalent with *Pisolta* of de Barros' map.

[4] Three other ships seem to have travelled with the *San Lorenzo, viz.*, the *Santa Croce* (p. 234), the *Buon Successo* and the *Sant' Ignasio* (p. 243). Between Malacca and Manilla, Ripa travelled on the *Nostra Signora di Cadalup*, Capt. Signor D. Cristoforo Bassurto, a Spaniard (p. 252).

[5] A shabby excuse put forward by Christian masters to justify their inhuman practice of slave-dealing. The Dutch, the French, the English, not less than the Portuguese, dealt in slaves. Bengal furnished thousands of eunuchs to the harems of Muhammadan Grandees, and it was the favourite hunting-ground for slaves, to both the Europeans and the Mughs of Arakan The Portuguese slave-raiders of Chittagong and Arakan boasted in 1630 that they made more Christians in one year than all the Missionaries of India in ten.

[6] de l' Estoile. One Gregory Boutet, private merchant, was witness at a marriage at Chandernagar on Febr. 7, 1707, and on July 25, 1707; *do.*, one *Constantin* de l' Estoile on Oct. 29, 1715; *do.*, one de l' Estoille on Febr. 2, 1721. The names Boutet and de l' Estoile occur still in other places of the Chandernagar Marriage Registers, but I did not find them in conjunction.

On Sept. 10, 1704, Grégoire Bouttet bought for Rs. 1010 from a Portuguese ship-captain with the impossible name of Sieur Louis Yamada de Acha Ribeiro the ship *La Divine Providence* and her appurtenances; freight: 2,500 mans. Cf *Bengal Past & Present*, 1911, p. 175.

I find in *Estat de la Perse en 1660 par le P. Raphael du Mans* edited by Ch. Schefer, Paris, 1890, some interesting information on Constantine's father (?), Sieur Isaac Botet de Lestoillé, a French merchant at Ispahan. de Lalain and de la Boullaye le Gouz lodged with him on their arrival at Ispahan, Nov. 13, 1665 and gave him a letter in which he was styled first chamberlain of the Sháh

father being a Frenchman, his mother Persian. He insisted that we should sleep in his cabin and share his table, and he was so kind to us that he was annoyed because we did not want to eat four times a day as he, but only twice, according to our Italian custom. While on land, we were obliged—such being the exigencies of the climate—to take breakfast every morning after Holy Mass, for everyone assured us that, if we kept fasting till dinner-time, we should get ill. At breakfast we got not less than a chicken each,—they are exceedingly cheap there[1]—and not less than a fowl apiece and other warm food at dinner. And, as these fowls are not very substantial, and are easily digested, we found that what they said was true, *viz.*, that it all digested in no time and without trouble.

When I had got on the San Lorenzo, I doffed the secular garb in which I had travelled from Cologne, and put on my soutane, and I drew up a plan of campaign for the voyage up to the Philippine Islands. It was as follows: After my accustomed prayers, if the sea was not disturbed, to celebrate Holy Mass, which is done publicly near the aft mast, for the sake and profit of all those Christians: Teach the Christian Doctrine, morning and evening; for, not only the young,—among whom there were some Catechumens—but nearly all the sailors were utterly ignorant of it, even of the truths necessary for salvation:- Give an eight days' Mission: [233] Preach every feastday and hear the confessions of all at any hour of the day (very few of them had frequented the Sacraments; many had never made their confession all their life, and the great number had lived estranged from the Sacraments for five, six years or more: this work of preparing and instructing them for a good confession was the most arduous work of all): finally Recite in common the Holy Rosary and other prayers. All these exercises were conducted in the corrupt form of Portuguese known by almost all the Christians and many of the infidels of those parts. We, Italians, learn it very easily. Hence, anyone

of Persia and invited to offer his services to the French delegates (p. L. *n.* 2). He gave them the money necessary for an outfit becoming their station and the Sháh before whom they were to appear (p. 307). His eldest son, Louis, acted as interpreter to la Boullaye, Beber and Dupont on their journey to Bandar Abbas (Nov. 16, 1665). Cf. p LIV. Writing to Monseigneur de Lionne (Ispahan, Déc. 18. 1665), Isaac Botet de Lestoille says of his son: "Je leur ay praisenté mon fils ainé que ils ont asepté en callité d' intraipraitre . . . Sy je n' avois veu que il est autant capable que aucun autre de soutenir cette charge et rendre se service je ne l'orais jamois engagé; mois je say que il a beaucoup de connoissense du commerse et parle tray bien les lengue comme fransoise, persienne turquesque et armainienne et indienne. J'ai toujours ellevé mais enfans dans les sentimant d'ung veritable fransois et s' est bien auec plaisir que je les voy plus fortemant ataché a la France pour ung sy beau suget." (p. 308) Fr. Ange de St Joseph (de la Brosse), a Discalced Carmelite from Toulouse, states in his *Pharmacopoea Persica* (1681) that Isaac died aged 70 years after abjuring Calvinism, and that his sons and daughters had been brought up in the Catholic faith. One of his daughters married Ishaq Khan, son of Zeno, the interpreter to the English Company (p. CIII). This Ishaq Khan appears then to be the same as Ripa's Giovanni Isacar or d' Isacar [Isa Khan ?]. (Cf. *supra* [p. 231] *n.* 2).

[1] "And for a Roupy, which is about half a Crown, you may have [in Bengal] 20 good. Pullets and more; Geese and Ducks in proportion." BERNIER (1666). Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v Rupee.

about to start for the Indies should take with him the Christian Doctrine, the instruction for Confession, and some other similar book in Portuguese to learn the language more easily and correctly.

From the twenty-fifth of February to the twenty-eighth, we travelled on the Ganges. On reaching finally the Ocean, the river-pilots returned to Bengala; we lost sight of the land, a strong favourable breeze sprang up, we weighed anchor,—not to cast it again along that coast,—and turned our course towards Malacca, from where we would pass to the Philippine Islands.

* * * * * *

Ripa arrived in China in 1710 and was well received at the Court, for he was a good painter and succeeded as an engraver. In 1714 he began a small Seminary at Pekin. In November 1723 he left China with 5 of his Chinese pupils and reached Naples in 1724 after a journey of one year and five days. His endeavours to establish a Missionary College for the Chinese at Naples received the Pope's approval on March 17, 1725. A school and Church were built at Naples in 1729, and the new Institute of the Sacred Family of Jesus Christ was approved by Pope Clement XII. on April 7, 1732. Cf. *Storia*, III, 448 *sqq*. Ripa died on March 29, 1746, aged 64 years. His portrait appears in the beginning of Vol. I of his *Storia*

According to A. de Gubernatis, a hostile writer, Ripa's College still exists at Naples under the title of Collegio Asiatico; "but, in its present condition, it is inadequate to preparing zealous apostles for the Missions of Asia, as in the past century, or to becoming a practical school for living oriental languages, as the modern needs of our commerce with the Asiatic nations would require [!]" Cf. *Storia dei Viaggiatori Italiani*, Livorno, 1875, p. 61. For bibliographical references to this College, Cf. H. CORDIER, *Bibl. Sinica*, near Ripa's name.

Ripa tells us that, after Cardinal de Tournon's death, Cerù and Perrone were obliged by the Mandarins to leave Macao for India.

We sent to *The Voice*, Rangoon, a passage from Ripa's *Storia* on Lazaro Lazaro, a young Peguan half-caste from Cosmi (Bassein), who had come to Rome to prepare himself for the priesthood. No other references to India were found

THE END.

H. HOSTEN, S. J.

Governor Richard Bourchier.*

THE acquisition by the India Office of a half-length portrait (attributed to George Dance, Junior) of Richard Bourchier, Governor of Bombay, revives the memory of a half-forgotten worthy, and will perhaps justify the publication of a few notes upon a career that presents many points of interest.

There were Bourchiers or Bowchers in India in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, and probably the subject of this sketch was related to one or other of these; but the connexion has not been traced. Nor has it been discovered when and where he was born. Mr. Forrest, however, in his *Selections from the Bombay Records, Home Series* (Vol. I, p xliv) says that Bourchier was sixty-one when he became Governor of Bombay; and this would indicate 1688 or 1689 as the year of his birth.

His name does not occur in the East India Company's records until October, 1718, when he applied to the Directors for permission to reside at Madras as a Free Merchant. His request was granted on November 26; and on the 3rd of the following month he was authorised to carry out with him 2,000*l* in foreign bullion. He seems now to have engaged in what was termed 'the country trade,' *i. e.*, from port to port in the East. In June, 1721, he wrote from Gombroon (Bandar Abbas) to the Company, complaining of his treatment by the Agent there; while a Madras list of 1724 includes his name among the 'seafaring people in Bengall service.'

In 1725 Bourchier was at home, and (doubtless at the instance of his friends) was appointed (December 31) by the Directors Sixth in Council at Fort William in Bengal. He reached Calcutta on July 6, 1726, and was made Export Warehouse Keeper (and Member of Council) at 40*l*. per annum. This post he retained for six years, and then came a sudden blow. In July, 1732, arrived a letter from the Court of Directors, dismissing President Deane (who however, had already relinquished office) and most of his Council, for sending home goods of an unsatisfactory quality. Bourchier thus found himself thrust out of office at a time when he had reached the rank of Second in Council and might reasonably look forward to becoming in his turn the President and Governor of Fort William.

Of the events of the next few years we know little; but it is certain that Bourchier remained in Calcutta and that at some unascertained date he was

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appointed Master Attendant there. A Calcutta tradition—preserved by *Asiaticus* in his *Ecclesiastical and Historical Sketches respecting Bengal*—ascribed to him the building of the Charity School House (which afterwards became the home, first of the Mayor's Court and then, for a time, of the Supreme Court); and this, it was said he made over to the East India Company on condition that a sum of Rs. 4,000 was paid annually in return to support a Charity School and for other benevolent purposes. The tradition has, however, been shown by Archdeacon Hyde (*Parochial Annals of Bengal*, p. 91) to be erroneous, though it is possible that Bourchier contributed generously to the foundation of the Charity School (about 1731).

Evidently Bourchier had powerful friends in London, for, on February 18, 1743, the Court of Directors, at the instance of his uncle, George Harrison, appointed him to succeed Mr. Whitehill as Chief of Anjengo, on the Malabar Coast—one of the best posts in the Western Presidency. This decision was communicated to Bourchier by the Bengal Council on August 4, and on December 5 (having presumably spent the interim in winding up his affairs at Calcutta) he resigned the post of Master Attendant. He took up his appointment at Anjengo a few months later, and for the next five years we hear little of him. One little point may, however, be mentioned. He must have been acquainted with Sterne's 'Eliza,' who was born at Anjengo in April, 1744; and the acquaintance was doubtless renewed when in 1758 she married Daniel Draper, then Secretary to the Bombay Government.

It would seem that Bourchier's management of affairs at Anjengo gave satisfaction to the Directors, for on March 15th, 1749, they wrote to Bombay appointing him second in Council there, and directing him to proceed at once to the Presidency to take up his new post. In November, 1750, he succeeded Mr. Wake as President and Governor of Bombay and held the office until February, 1760—a period of rather more than nine years. The chief event of his governorship was the capture of Gheria from Tulaji Angria by Clive and Watson. Clive, by the way, complained bitterly of the way in which he had been treated by Bourchier, who had omitted to consult him in the case of a court martial upon a military officer; but his remonstrance only provoked a severe snub from the Governor and Council.

Bourchier went home in 1760, and apparently settled in Sussex. In his later years, it would seem, financial misfortunes overtook him, for he is stated to have died penniless and insolvent. According to the *London Magazine* for 1770 (p. 642), the date of his decease was December 4 of that year.

He was twice married. On November 25, 1723, he espoused at Calcutta a 'Mrs. Sarah Hawkins.' Eight children were born in rapid succession,

and then, on February 12, 1739, Mrs. Bourchier died, aged 35 years, and was buried in the churchyard of St. John's, Calcutta, where a tablet to her memory now lies embedded at the base of the Charnock monument. A year later (February 6, 1740) Bourchier was married (again in Calcutta) to Elizabeth, widow of Joseph Badman. A daughter, Arabella, was baptised at the same place in November, 1742, and the couple had at least one other child (William), born at Anjengo on June 27, 1745. Elizabeth Bourchier died in August, 1756, and was buried in the Bombay Cathedral.

Most of Bourchier's sons went to India. Edward, the eldest, became a Writer in the Company's service at Dacca, but died before completing his twentieth year. Richard, the second, was allowed, while still a lad, to proceed to Calcutta 'to be of service to his father there.' Charles, the third, may be confidently identified with the Madras Writer of that name, who rose to be Governor of Fort St. George, 1767-70; while James, the fifth, became a Member of the Madras Council. George, the fourth son, obtained a Bombay Writership, but died after about nine years' service.

From the foregoing sketch, it will be seen that Bourchier just missed being Governor of Fort William, and actually became Governor of Bombay, while he had a son who, a little later, was Governor of Madras. Such a conjunction was surely unique.

WILLIAM FOSTER.

The Letters of Mr. Richard Barwell—I.

SOME years ago the letter copy-books of Mr. Richard Barwell were purchased for the Society by a small band of subscribers, of whom His Highness the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad and the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan were the chief. It is proposed to publish the letters by instalments in *Bengal Past and Present.*

Letter No. I.

Anselm Beaumont.—Originally came to India as a Free Merchant. Served in the Militia in the fateful year 1756, and escaped to Fulta during the Seige of Calcutta. Appointed a Factor in the Company's Service "because of his honourable conduct and his great losses in the late general calamity." (*Public General Letter from the Court*, 1758, March 3). He was promptly appointed to the Court of Cutchery, for on 19th January 1759 appears a protest from Messrs. Hay, Lushington, A. Beaumont, R. Leycester, S. Howitt protesting to the Board against the interference of the President with the discharge of their duties (See Public Proceedings 1759 pp. 63 *et seq*). Nov. 1759 Provincial Military Store-keeper. In 1763 was Military Store-Keeper at Fort William; 1764 Resident at Midnapore.

Leycester.—Ralph Leycester arrived 7th June 1754. Assistant in the Import Warehouse 1756. Escaped to the ships at the Seige of Calcutta in 1756. At home in 1759. Married Miss Charlotte Lushington November 22, 1762. Escaped from Dacca when the factory at that place was attacked in 1763, and subsequently charged with cowardice by Lord Clive. See *Bengal Past and Present.* Vol. V., pp. 209-10.

Mr. Johnstone.—A son of Sir James Johnston or Johnstone. Arrived with Francis Sykes and William Hay on 9th July 1754. Served at Dacca. In charge of a gun at Plassey; Paymaster to the Forces during Forde's Campaign in the Northern Circars. Secretary to Eyre Coote during the expedition against Law. Resident at Midnapur March 1760 where he was beseiged by the Marathas. Chief at Burdwan 1763. Ordered by the Court of Directors 8th February 1764 to be dismissed. Chief of the Deputation appointed on the death of Mir Jafar to negotiate affairs on the accession of Najmu-d-daula. His "refresher" on this occasion is stated to have been two lakhs and thirty-seven thousand rupees. A brother not in the service who accompanied him received 60,000 rupees; each of the other commissioners received one lakh and 12,000 rupees. Another brother, Patrick Johnstone, arrived 7th June 1754, perished in the Black Hole.

Bourchier.—See article by Mr. William Foster in the present number.

Our present quondam Nabob.—Mir Jafar died on the 6th February 1765. He was succeeded by Najmu-d-daula, his son by Munni Begum.

Eliabas—Allahabad. Clive reached Calcutta on May 3 1765. He left on June 25th and reached Benares early in August. On a payment of £500,000 he restored to Shuja-ud-Daula his territories excepting Allahabad and Corah which were to be ceded to the Emperor Shah Alam, whom he met at Allahabad on August 9th. "Shah Alam had previously on the Nabob's own application, granted the usual patent, appointing Najmu-d-Doula, Subahdah or Nazim of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. He now fixed the amount of revenue for which he was required to account at twenty-six lacs, or £260,000 and on condition of their becoming responsible for the payment of this sum, he appointed the Company to be perpetual diwan of the same provinces. He likewise confirmed the Company's title to its possessions in the different parts of India. In addition of their guarantee of the tribute of Bengal, the Company transferred the districts of Corah and Allahabad, yielding £28,000 a year, to the King." Elphinstone: *Rise of the British Power in the East*, p. 438. Najmu-d-daula was granted an annual stipend of Rs. 53,86,161.

Poor Lushington.—Henry Lushington who had died gallantly in the massacre at Patna. His memory is stained by his share in the "lall coggedge" incident—the tricking of Amir Chand (Omichand) by a fraudulent treaty. Lushington was one of the survivors of the Black Hole. See *Bengal Past and Present* Vol I, p. 164.

Middleton has resigned.—Samuel Middleton arrived in Bengal August 24th 1753, and in 1756 escaped from Jagdea to Fulta. In 1757 he was under Verelst at Luckipore. In 1764 he was Import Ware House Keeper and Mint Master at Fort William. He received Rs. 1,12,500 on the occasion of Najmu-d-Daula's accession, when he was Resident at the Durbar. On Sykes' taking his place at Murshidabad, he went to Patna, but cannot have been long at the latter place, as in 1767 we find Thomas Rumbold there as chief. See *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. III, p. 393, Vol. IV, p. 635, Vol. V, p. 328.

Billiers' death —William Billiers arrived 16th July 1749. Was one of those who escaped with Drake to the ships at the Seige of Calcutta. From 1763 to May 1764 was Collector of Calcutta and Member of Council. In the *Seir Mutaqherin* (Vol. III, p. 2) we read: "It was about this time [1765] that Mr Billiers succeeded in right of seniority to the chiefship of Azimabad [Patna]. He was a man of little understanding, and on that account much inclined to submit to the guidance of Mr Middleton and Mr. Djonecon [Johnstone]. On his being appointed, he went from the garden of Banky-poor, the then residence of every English ruler, and having traversed the city in great pomp and state, he proceeded to the castle where he ordered Mir-Cazem-Qhan to take his seat on the musnud of Government, as Viceroy of the province of Behar. This installation produced him a sum of money; but as at the same time he listened implicitly to the dictates and instigations of some Gentoos as senseless as himself, he became himself guilty of some improper actions, which rendered him distracted when he came to hear of Lord Clive's arrival, and of his great power and severity. He was seized with consternation on his past conduct, and killed himself with his own sword. He was buried in that very garden of Banky-poor, where he has remained ever since, a standing stock for the reflections of his own countrymen." See above pp. 118, 119.

Sumner.—William Brightwell Sumner arrived 25th November, 1744 Second at Dacca in 1756, but was on leave at Calcutta at the time of the seige. Appointed Ensign in the Militia. Escaped to Fulta. Export Warehousekeeper. Went Home 1761. Returned to India with Lord Clive in 1765.

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT.

MAULDA,

15th Sept. 1765.

DEAR BEAUMONT,—

I have to this time favor'd with 3 of your letters, two from Fort St. George of the 24th and 30th of last January, and one from the Cape, the 10th of April following. I wrote you the 2nd of February in duplicate, and as neither of yours from Madras reach'd me till after the dispatch of the April ship, I deferr'd addressing you again, my removal and the adjusting my concerns.....not only my time but utmost attention. Leycester not being able to procure bills conformable to the directions you sent me, wrote to Mr. Bourchier requesting he would draw on him to the amount of Rs. 35,000 on your account: as yet he has not received an answer. I have, therefore, desired him, in case he should not be drawn upon by Bourchier, before money is received into the Treasury for bills, to pay no regard to the keeping a ballance for the disbursement of such draft, but remit the whole to Europe; and, if any difficulty arose, to use my name for £5,000—the bill passable to you and my Father; that not in my name to be made payable in your instructions, and, had I not been engaged last remittance, should have attempted to secure you, in the same manner.

Respecting your salt adventure, the best reply is, in my opinion, a copy of Mr. Wood's letters: such in attention and remissness, as appears to me

through the whole of that Gentleman's conduct in the disposal of this concern, is too apparent to need illustration.

Your marble slabs remain unsold, and will, in my opinion, for some years, as the prospect of disposing of them to His Excellency vanished at the death of Jaffier (our present *quondam* Nabob being debarr'd the means of extravagance). The system of Government is now so entirely changed, that if you was to return, you would scarcely conjecture your absence to have been short of 20 years. His Lordship takes gigantic strides in what is stiled "settling the Country." He has already been to Eliabas, and on Sujah's dowsing his 50 lacks, restored to him his country, but in my opinion this will be far from producing tranquillity. He himself is uncapable of taking possession of his country. Or, if he does, who is to defend him in the possession? Many and powerful are the enemies he must oppose: unfurnished with money or troops. The conclusion of course is natural:—we, his allies must fight his battles, and raise him from that distress which we have reduced him to. For my part I confess myself a poor politician, but, if you will permit me to form conjectures on recent facts, there is little reason to imagine, but what our strength and fortune will be frequently put to the test, whilst we continue to display those astonishing proofs of what we alone term generosity. Gratitude is a virtue not very troublesome to any of our Indian friends; and, as I recollect having heard poor Lushington say, the Moors had no word expressive of its meaning in their language, is it probable that as men, they should entertain an idea they cannot express?

By the appointment of a Select Committee (tho' by the Directors' Letter it should subsist no longer than any war which might imbroil the Provinces), the Council are become mere cyphers: power so much aimed at by all degrees of men, and so agreable to the uncontrollable disposition of Clive, has made him stretch the prerogative on the insertion of these words in the body of that paragraph of the Company's General Letter, *i. e*, "the restoring of order." Middleton has resigned his post at the Durbar, and the Council, taking the opportunity of the absence of all the members of Committee except Sumner, have appointed him to the chiefship of Patna, which since the death of Billiers had remained near a month vacant. The reason of Middleton's resignation was Sykes' being order'd up by the Committee to settle some affairs on their behalf, independent of him. There is something in this so extremely absurd, if imputed to the cause alleged, that it must stagger the most weak judgment. Others will pull back the curtain, and ask if Middleton was unfit? If unfit, why not removed before; and, if fit, why not entrusted instead of being driven to the necessity of resigning? I do not know how fond you are of riddles: your friend Dick has a curs'd aversion

to everything of that nature, and expects you will be kind enough to send him the solution of what he has related. Sumner opposed the Board's appointment of Middleton to Patna, and [it] remains as yet uncertain, whether the Committee will permit it to stand, tho', for my part, I cannot think they will dare to disannul so publick an act of the Board's without any plausible pretence, let them assume to themselves what authority they please. In short, Beaumont, Clive is really our king; his word is the law, and, as in your time (1758) he laughs at contradictions. He has routed Johnstone, in remembrance of his brother's good offices, and haul'd every person concerned in the Deputation over the coals for executing a treaty, he cannot disapprove: not a little nettled to find that his jaggheer has been made over to the Company at the expiration of the time settled with the Proprietors, without his being able to make a merit of the assignment, besides making it appear evident to the world the Company might have profited by his refusal. Read his letter to the Proprietors in the 8vo. vol. of *Tracts on Indian Affairs* as it is that to I allude.

You will hear from others what a devilish piece of work has been made about presents. I shall, nevertheless, write you my sentiments on that topic, as I believe, you may be able to form a truer judgment of the proceedings of the disappointed from the particular relation I shall be enabled to give than the general accounts of others. At present I am seeking after the truth, and am therefore necessitated to defer to my next the satisfaction I wish it was now in my power to give.

I have the happyness to acquaint you, I stand in the midst of changes, and by the profession of services from every quarter have little or no reason to doubt the stability of my appointment. Gray would very gladly make this a Factory, and upon the whole I do not think he has acted by me with that candor my conduct claim'd. This between friends. Great folks must not be offended, you know, tho' by Jove, had he effected ought to my prejudice, I should have made no scruple to have made him dance to very grating Musick. But, as it is—I am silent: he pleas'd, and when we meet, you would almost swear from his manner that he was the best friend I had in India. Recollect Martinet's legacy. When I read it, I thought he had been led away by resentment, and marked him undeservedly, but experience has shewn me the contrary.

I am truly sensible of the friendship you so obliging profess in every letter you write, and as it is my ardent wish to hold one of the first places in your esteem, [I] flatter myself nothing can interpose that shall impair the favourable idea you entertain; and, as you cannot be ignorant of my disposition, the kindness you have conferred, be assured, cements a reciprocal attachment with that gratitude I have been, and hope for ever to be, influenced by.

No remittances will be made from hence before December. My orders relative are mentioned in the prior part of this, and to whom entrusted. The following particulars is an extract from Mr. Challoner's Letter of the 25th November, 1764: "Your accot. is credited, for Rs. 1230-14. @ $\frac{2}{4}$ is £143-12-3 for the Consulage, etc., on the 4 chests of coral sent to Madras and your account is discharged for the Pearl and Lapis Lazuli sent to China etc. conformably to your advices as it shall for the emeralds and pearls sent you by the *Lord Anson*, as soon as ye attorneys have ship'd them for Madras and——." I know of no pearls and emeralds of Challoner's: there are a parcel of emeralds, but I think they belong to some other gentleman. However, I have wrote to Mr. Leycester, and if they should prove Mr. Challoner's, they shall be disposed of according to the aforequoted paragraph.

The following particulars of his Lordship's treaty with Suja, I received in a private letter yesterday. I will not pretend to vouch its authenticity in every respect, though I think it may be depended on

> 1st, that he shall pay to the Company 50 lacks within the year, and 8 on the nail, and that the King shall remain in possession of Elliabas, with its revenue of 34 lackhs; and, on our part we are to withdraw our troops, when he shall have accomplished the agreement on his part.

Clive has likewise stipulated to pay the King from the province 26 lacks, so that his Kingship will have an yearly income of 60 lacks. In consequence the Company are honor'd with the Dewanny Sunnuds for this Subaship, and have ceded to them some provinces southward of Ballasore—I imagine these districts quite up to the Boundary of Orixa, as settled in our treaty with the French.

I shall write you again if possible by this ship: such as of my letters as are only intended for your amusement I direct to be returned. Friends write to friends their thoughts in too free a manner for the publick eye.

BELIEVE ME, DEAR BEAUMONT,
Your very affectionate friend.

LETTER NO. II.

William, the father of Richard, Barwell, to whom the following letter is addressed, had been President and Governor at Fort William from April 1748 to 17th July 1749 The dismissal of William Barwell was ordered by the Directors in a letter dated 18th January, 1749. From a letter dated 27th January, 1749, it appears that the reason for the dismissal was "his violent behaviour at Patna to Mr. Jackson, his not setting his seal to a paper which the Council thought was necessary for carrying into execution their contract with Omichand Deepchand, and his return from thence without leave from his superiors at Calcutta." His first wife (Mrs Eliz Eyre at the time of marriage) died 25th September, 1731, aged 22, her tomb stone is still to be found in St. John's churchyard. On 27th February, 1739, William Barwell married "Mrs. Eliz Peirce," and by her following children were born in India

THE NAWAB NAJMU-U-DAULAH.

1. William, baptised 13th October, 1740.
2. Richard, born 8th October and baptised 31st October, 1741.
3. John, baptised July 1743.
4. Rozer, baptised 22nd December, 1747.

Other children were born in England—*viz.*, Mary, Frances, James, Daniel, and Edward.

William Barwell was a Director of the Company in 1753-57, 1758-65, and 1766-1767.

For an elucidation of the history of the intrigues of Nanda Kumar (Nuncomar) referred to in this letter see Vol. I of Col. Crawford's *History of the Indian Medical Service.*

His natural son Nasim O Dowla —In a letter dated 30th September, 1765, Clive and the Select Committee write to the Court of Directors "a deputation consisting of Messrs Johnstone, Senior, Middleton, and Leycester, was appointed to raise the natural son of the deceased Nabob to the Subahdary, in prejudice to the claim of his grandson" In my copy of Verelst's *View*, where this letter occurs, Archibald Swinton has noted on the margin "Improperly called *natural* son. Nujum-al-Dowlah was named by Jaffier Ali Khan as his successor and appointed Chuta Nabob before Jaffier's death; and after Nuzum's death Lord Clive did not appoint Jaffier's grandson, but a brother of Nuzum's" Najmu-d-daula, whose proper name was Mir Phulwari, was the eldest son of Mir Jafar and the famous Munni Begum Najmu-d-daula died of small pox on 3rd May, 1766, and was succeeded by his brother Saif-uddaula

George Vansittart—A younger brother of Governor Henry Vansittart. See *Bengal Past and Present* Vol. III, p. 362

To HIS FATHER.

MAULDA,

15th Sept. 1765.

MUCH HON'D & DEAR SIR,—

My last to you of the preceding season, dated the 31st January, was follow'd by my departure for Maulda between the 5th and 6th of the subsequent month. On my arrival I took upon me the charge I had been appointed to, and found so much to engross my attention that in a manner I was necessitated to forgo the opportunity of addressing you *per* the *Bute*. From the publick and my letters you have been informed of the death of the Nabob Meer Jaffier, the succession of his natural son Nazim O'Dowla, and the advantageous treaty concluded with him by the then President and Council, whereby the whole military force of the provinces is put into the Company's hands, with an acquisition of 60 lacks or £700,000 sterling *per annum*, a right to object to the Nabob's choice of ministers and to insist on the remove of such as may appear of doubtful attachment to the interests of the Company, the war with Sujah brought almost to a conclusion; and, in short, nothing left for the exertion of his Lordship's genius, who arrived here in May following. The first step with which he usher'd his government was the fixing of the Select Committee, though no war subsisted, Sujâ Dowlâ having thrown himself on our clemency and shortly after entertain'd by General Carnac in the English camp. The next was to publish the powers of the Committee, which I scarce conceive to be with propriety what his Lordship pretends, as they entirely set aside the design of a council which I must suppose the Directors could have form'd with no other intention than for the management of their affairs by

plurality of voices; else why is it directed that their opinions be asked if in controverted points the sentiments of the majority are to have sway, but all depend on the Select Committee? This is a riddle far beyond my comprehension, I must confess: but to return to his Lordship. It was not long before he fixed the idea of a most absolute authority, vested in his own person as well as in the Committee, over the whole country; and, as you may be assured, he could not be very well pleased to find a treaty brought to perfection, so beneficial, and which in every respect appears calculated too perfectly for the preservation and security of those immense possessions the Company now enjoy (in all £1,400,000 sterling) to be condemned, yet he could not but wish some amendments and a reason to assign for their not waiting his arrival, as he had been excluded from that merit which otherwise would have center'd entirely in him.

The Nabob, who had been taught to expect a change on the arrival of his Lordship, no sooner heard he was in Calcutta than he immediately repair'd thither, venting heavy complaints against the Deputies (especially Messrs. Johnstone and Leycester) for forcing him, as he stiled it, to ratify the late treaty, and fixing Mahommed Reza Cawn guardian of the subahdarry during his minority, and obliging him to part with his favorite Nuncomar, who had held the supreme influence from the restoration of his father Meer Jaffier in '63. The known intriguing genius of this man had long since rendered him suspicious, and though some occurrences during the campaign of '63 confirm'd every conjecture to his disadvantage, yet no sufficient proof appear'd to condemn him, till about this time when some intercepted letters, with evidences it was thought incontestable, were brought down from Patna by Mr. Geo. Vansittart, in support of Mr. Batson's allegation of his having carried on a correspondence with Suja-al-Dowla during the height of the war. The Board, therefore, insisted on his being sent to Calcutta, which was with some difficulty effected; the Nabob expressing the utmost reluctance at parting with him. An enquiry was, however, begun: the evidences were arrived in Calcutta: and the affairs of Government under Mahommed Reza Cawn were beginning to be conducted with a proper spirit, which on his elevation had been damp'd by letters from Shitabroy, a man in our camp, in whom, it was supposed General Carnac placed great confidence. These letters were addressed to the Nabob and Nuncomar: their purport, that he had discoursed with the General, who greatly disapproved the measures taken by the Governor and Council, that Lord Clive might hourly be expected with full powers, and would not fail on proper application to settle everything to his (the Nabob's) satisfaction. These letters had the greater force from the General's known connection with his Lordship, his having always supported Meer Jaffier, and even instances of good will towards his minister Nuncomar.

It consequently alarm'd Mahommet Reza Cawn. The dread of falling victim to the change, in the prospect of which his enemies triumphed, reduced him to a state of inactivity and despondence, from which the removal of Nuncomar to his tryal then happily relieved him; but his Lordships' arrival again involved him in doubtful anxietys—the more as Nuncomar had been set at liberty, and the evidences brought from different parts of the country to prove his guilt permitted to return without an examination. This procedure his Lordship will, I suppose, account for. I have before remark'd the Nabob's being in Calcutta. On his departure from Muxadavad, he gave strict orders to Mahommed Reza Cawn not to follow him; that he might, I conjecture, have it more in his power to prejudice him in the opinion of Lord Clive. To which effect he presented a letter to his Lordship setting forth the injuries done him in the late treaty, the force put upon his inclinations, and the merits of Nuncomar. He then attacks in very indecent terms, the gentlemen who had promoted the removal of his favourite, finds much fault with Mahommed Reza Cawn, and sums up the charge by accusing him of having issued large sums from the Treasury without his knowledge for the purchase of his employ. Mr. Leycester replied to this address in two minutes, as appears on the face of the Consultations of the latter end of May or beginning of June, and if I can procure a copy of those minutes they shall go enclosed, as I think them worthy of your attention. About this time, his Lordship summon'd Mahommed Reza Cawn to Calcutta, who obeyed with the terror and apprehension of a man, going to be delivered up to his enemies. What could he imagine? Nuncomar was at liberty and in direct opposition to the resolution of your prior President and Council. Consequently the letters wrote by Shitabroy, the supposed sentiments of the General, recurred to his memory with redoubled force, and presented to him a prospect as gloomy as possible. He was kept for somedays in this state of anxious suspence, terrified with the powers of the Committee; he was soon taught where to place his whole and sole dependance; nor did he dare (his dread was so great) to pay or receive a visit from any member of the old Council, lest it might accelerate his ruin. Under these terrible notions of the Committee's supremacy, their disgust at what had past (by him conjectured an indication of enmity against the Council and Parties concerned): he was examined touching the distribution made from the Nabob's treasury in the clandestine manner that had been sett forth by his Excellency. He denied the charge, and produced—to the shame of his Prince—written orders for every sum he had disbursed. He was then directed to give in writing whatever had pass'd on the subject of presents, and Jugut Seat was ordered to do the same. This enquiry and examination being carried on against members of the Board and the late

President by a Secret Committee that pretended to arbitrate on all affairs indiscriminately. No wonder that Asiaticks should be influenced, and act as they imagined most agreeable to the Ruling power and condusive to the promotion of their own particular views when even Europeans will not scruple to make such sacrifice, tho' withheld by much stronger bonds. The Nabob's address to Lord Clive, I do not imagine, was with a view of introducing an inquiry into the presents he had made, but to blacken Mahommed Reza Cawn, hoping every assertion to his prejudice would be readily credited, and procure at once the removal of that Minister and the reinstalment of Nuncomar. In this he was greatly mistaken, and the displeasure he conceived at the disappointment has appeared in many instances.

Mahommed Reza Cawn, conformably to the Committee's orders, delivered in two accounts, one of the presents intended and offered by the Nabob, and the other by himself, particularising the sums and persons: Copies of which with that delivered by Juggut Seat, I enclose with Mr. Leycester's minutes in answer; for I should be extremely chagrined to perceive calumny deprecate in your opinion a character worthy of your utmost regard, or influence you to be indifferent in the cause of oppress'd innocence. I must for your information, in vindication of a friend whose virtues have rendered him dear to me, make some remarks on my own knowledge of facts, when I make no doubt he will appear to you, as to me, the man of strict honour and integrity. In the first place no conversation ever passed on the subject of presents, as recited by M. R. C.,* in the presence of Mr. Leycester, and though Mr. Johnstone may have intimated to Mahommed Reza Cawn that the gentlemen of the Deputation, now the business was concluded, could have no reasonable objection to the receiving of any token the Nabob might be disposed to present to them of his esteem, yet it was subsequent to offers made by the Nabob thro' Nuncomar: Mahomed Reza Cawn insinuating that he was backward in speaking on this subject to the Nabob can have proceeded from nothing but his dread of the Committee's power, and an apprehension of being known to have contributed thro' inclination to the conference of favors at which such umbrage was taken; besides, he might imagine oblique reflections as the Council would do him service with Lord Clive and his Committee, on whom alone the duration of his honors, fortune, and aught else held dear by a Mussulman depended. In one of his narratives he relates a conversation to have passed between him and some particular gentlemen. I am well assured that relation is false, and that no such has passed; nor did I ever before hear he made the least difficulty of speaking to the Nabob, or that the Nabob made the least hesitation when spoke to. So far from it,

* Mahomed Reza Khan.

that he himself noticed the propriety, seemed displeased it had not been done before and instantly acquiesced, even tho' the motion was made by a person so very disagreeable to him as Mahommed Reza Cawn must have been. The making of presents is a custom deemed so becoming in Asian Courts that a refusal of them may properly be looked as an indignity offer'd to the presenter: in this light it is held all over the country. They even conclude you from it their enemy, imagine either the offers they made had been inconsiderable to your rank, or that you were before resolved not to admit them to a share of your good will. But, supposing an application made for presents, it will become His Lordship to note the impropriety by himself committed, and which, if you will turn to the 35th page of the octavo Volume of *Tracts on Indian Affairs,* published in 1764, you will immediately perceive, for in the account he gives of his jaggheer, he says that in January, '59, he represented to Juggut Seat that "where a title was confer'd, it was usual for the Nabob to annex a jaggheer, and desired Juggut Seat would apply to him on the occasion." Meer Jaffier evaded the grant at that time, tho' he issued it a few months after, when Col. Clive returned from Patna with that accession of influence his persuit of the Shahzadah had given him. Such an opportunity as it must favour Juggut Seat's application for a jaggheer it is not [to] be imagined he would neglect; but being once commissioned renewed sollicitations, the success of which he had all the reason to imagine would render him agreeable to and worthy of the Colonel's esteem, whereas in the case of the trifling presents (I speak comparatively) made to the Council, you will find no arguments urged to the Nabob. No inducement but the custom of Asian princes to influence his bounty, His Lordship daily expected, the treaty concluded, the Deputation broke up, and his favorite sent to Calcutta,—were these circumstances incitements to liberality? No, the Nabob's station and character were the only incentives. He acted alone from an idea of his own dignity and in support of the grandeur of his predecessors: as he had nothing to hope, so he had nothing to fear. No services could be render'd him: everything was publicly ratified. How absurd then must those approve themselves who insinuate or infer gifts so conferr'd the price of service: let them look into the proceedings, and they will find that, in the course of the Committee's inquiries, it evidently appears much larger offers had been made by the Nabob, through Nuncomar, to have the government left in the state it then was, [prior] to His Lordship's arrival, etc.; that those offers had been repeatedly made and repeatedly refused, and that most of the members might have made much handsomer fortunes by doing nothing than by exerting themselves in the manner they did for the benefit of their Employers; but, as they could not prevail on themselves to lose the favourable opportunity offer'd, they

conducted themselves with zeal and integrity for those interests, to which duty prompted their attention. They gave up a certain fortune to that sense of honor which should actuate every one of your servants. Mr. Leycester, I must observe, not only did this to my certain knowledge, but when Mahommed Reza Cawn would have made him a present of ½ a lack he refused it, least aught should be alleged to his prejudice, when, under such circumstance, occasion might call on him to speak in support of the man he deemed worthy to be raised to the dignity he now holds. The present made by Juggut Seat was a thing not known to Leycester with its circumstances: all he had heard of it was that the Seats intended a present: but, when everything was made known to him, he wrote to his attorney at Cossr. [Casimbazar] not to receive it, and, if received, to have it returned—there being an indelicacy in Mr. Johnstone's answer to the Seats that no way corresponded with the nicer sentiments of my friend; but, for my part, I must confess I see no great impropriety in that answer. The Seats were no more to Mr. Johnstone than other private merchants: he was bound to render them no services. What then was there in his reply to their Vackeel? It was certainly their part to render themselves worthy of his attention, and not his to recommend himself to them. As Mr. Johnstone goes home by this ship you may hear particulars from him, the relation of which would only serve to swell my letters to an almost tedious length without answering any other purpose. I, therefore, refer you to him, and shall only intimate in general terms that he has been used extremely ill, that he has been forced to resign your service to avoid the obloquy in which a seeming tryal might have involved him. I say a seeming tryal, because a defence in his circumstances was a thing impossible. He was not confronted with his accusers: his servant, Mooteram was taken into custody and evidence extorted from him, under all the terrors of confinement. In short every one connected with Johnstone were so intimidated that they did not ever dare to visit him but by stealth—In this clime such are the agreeable effects of the extraordinary exertion of power! I cannot pass unnoticed the introduction of Mooteram to the Council, with an intention it was thought of re-examining him: instead of that a paper he had before sworn to by the S[ecret] C[ommittee] was read article by article. A very pretty form! It could not be supposed that he could deny what he had but the other day asserted. No, but then such procedure render'd all prevarication impossible, and secured the validity of so essential an evidence.

The strict scrutiny made by His Lordship has surprized me the more as, in condemning a practice he himself now tastes the sweets of, he oversetts those very arguments with which he supported his pretensions to the jaggheer: yet many of the members of the Board that he has attack'd have

much stronger to offer in their behalf. The presents he received were for hon'ble services render'd; whereas what they received, and as publicly avouch'd, were for service neither render'd nor to be render'd. They likewise can, with as much if not greater propriety urge the custom of Eastern princes in their favour—a custom it does not appear they were obliged to sollicit the performance of. But, as ambition disappointed takes umbrage at the cause, be it what it will, his Lordship, I conceive, was mortified at finding he had lost so fine a field of raising his merit with the Company by the Council's not waiting his arrival—a thing uncertain as no intelligence to be depended on had been received of his having left England,—indeed had there, I should suppose, it would not have influenced a procrastination that must have proved very detrimental to the Country, the consequence of unsettled government. Lord Clive, whose fortune has sprung from that fund of generosity so suitable, as he calls it, to the dignity of an Eastern Prince, notes it as an impropriety in others, because he says the orders of the Court of Directors were arrived and should have been attended to. This argument might hold good could he bring one single instance from any of the Presidencies to strengthen it. The execution of commands from Europe, by the little observations I have made, appears to have been always discretionary, and Governors and Councils have never scrupled that I know of to suspend the execution whenever they thought them detrimental to the interests of the Company, or, without being conducive to its advancement, prejudical to individuals. This was really the case in the late Order concerning presents, which as it seemed to have its birth from party spirit, from which the most sudden changes have been too frequent, the probability of alterations subsisted, till we were absolutely certain of Lord Clive's having left England. The order for abolishing the inland trade had very materially injured the fortunes of many, and at a time when the order itself was revoked in Europe. Why then should the Council, in a second instance, lay themselves under restraints unknown to any of their predecessors? Lord Clive was yet in England, and it was much for his interest to procure a revocation of an order particularly prejudicial to him and the Gentlemen embarked in his expedition. The next ship, it was expected, would bring a counter-command. Besides this Order several others much more material were deferr'd to the arrival of his Lordship or the intelligence of a final period [put] to the contests at the India House for that year at least. This the Committee seemed to think not worthy [of] censure: it is the order about presents alone they appear to notice. Necessary, I suppose, to give a sanction to their enquiries. Whether those enquiries were an object fit for the deliberation of a Select Committee you will decide. Should a Governor and Council have been inattentive to the orders of their Superiors, their Superiors alone have the right of censuring.

Clive and his Committee have not only assumed the right, but presume to pass judgment on a President and Council, whose orders were equally valid with their own, and no respect accountable to their Tribunal for the transactions of their Government, and I should imagine individuals less so whose conduct have been guided by the orders of a majority of that Council—orders always esteemed as laws in every settlement.

Whatever may have been his Lordship's design, or by whatever motives he may have been instigated to commence so remarkable a scrutiny, and persue it with such extraordinary means and indefatigable attention, he has found nothing more material for censure on any of the members (excepting Johnstone) than that they have taken presents after the receipt of the Company's injunctions to the contrary: and yet his Lordship and his Committee have not scrupled to attempt reducing the number of your Council, which has hitherto been effectually opposed, to disannul your commission of government by which a President and fifteen are empowered to act as agents for the Company. That's a mere trifle: only an invasion of the Company's right to appoint their own agents, only a pernicious example that may be followed to the ruin of the settlement by any who has the power and the boldness to dare, for he may with as much propriety assume a like authority, and has equal right to render himself superior to orders. To the Company's appointment of Government the most implicit defference has hitherto been paid. Should, then, that only basis of the civil power be removed, will it be anything extraordinary to find the head of your armies giving laws to your Council. It is very surprizing that gentlemen so zealous of a deviation from an order that could in no shape injure the Company should avow a design of disobedience wherein its very being was concerned.

In the prior part, I mention'd Sujah Dowla's having thrown himself on our clemency, and yesterday [I] received intimation of the following particulars. That they are authentic in every point I will not take upon myself to vouch, tho' I have reason to believe that they are: that he shall pay to the Company 50 lacks, 8 in ready money and the remainder in twelve months, at which time the English forces are to quit his country and the Fort of Chunar Gurr (in our possession till then) to be delivered up. The Shah (King) is to have Elliabas with its revenue amounting to 34 lacks (the only part that is alienated of all Suja's dominions), and from the Bengal provinces 26: in all 60 lacks *per annum*; and, he, on his part, has honor'd the Company with the Dewany Sunnuds for these provinces, and has ceded some others to the south of Ballasore—I imagine to the boundary of Orixa, as settled in our treaty with the French, computed an accession of 36 lacks. This, when conquer'd, will make the yearly revenue received by the Company

156 lackhs (or £ sterling 1,820,000), or one million eight hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

His Lordship and Mr. Sumner, to whom I have paid my respects, have, as they promised you, made me all the kind professions I could wish for. The sincerity of them I shall not pretend to question, as I do not intend putting them to the test. All I wish is that they may not project anything to my prejudice, but let me quietly remain where I have now the pleasure to subscribe myself.

DEAR & HON'D SIR,
Your very dutyfull and affectionate Son.

LETTER NO. III.

TO MESSRS. JACOB MOSEH & RAPHAEL FRANCO.

MAULDA,
14th September, 1765.

GENTLEMEN,—

Since my last of the 30th November '64, I have been favor'd with 3 of your letters: two addressed to Mr. Beaumont, dated the 25th May in the same year, and the other the 9th January following with one of that date to Messrs. Marriott and Barwell. As I flatter myself you have been fully satisfied with the attention I have shewn to your interests, I shall make no further reply to the letter, and as for the 2 prior, Mr. Beaumont, who must have arrived long before this, I suppose, to have given you satisfaction.

I have the pleasure to advise you the affairs of the Company in these parts are in a flourishing state, and that Lord Clive, who arrived with us, just on the eve of a peace on our own terms with Sujah Dowlah, has happily concluded one. So that I think you may venture to recommence your consignments. Not that I can give you any encouragement from the present demand for coral, but from the prospect I imagine you have.

I AM, ETC.

LETTER NO. IV.

Randolph Marriott.—Arrived 25th July 1753, aged 21. Assistant at Casimbazar in 1756 where he was made prisoner. After the restoration of Calcutta he was Assistant Buxey. Collector of Calcutta and Member of Council 1763. As Member of Council in 1763 was first to propose Mir Jaffar's restoration, after the breach with Mir Kasim. In 1765 Chief at Benares, with the famous William Bolts as his second. The story of his dispute with Bolts is given by the latter in his *Considerations* Vol. III, Appendix C. Both Marriott and Bolts were ordered down to Calcutta in order to meet an inquiry. The Council (February 17, 1766) determined "That Mr. Marriott is highly culpable in renting the mint, knowing it was against the orders of the Board for any servant of the Company to enjoy any post under the Country-government, and therefore ought to bring to the Company's credit all the profits that have accrued to him from the mint: but humbly hope in consideration of Mr. Marriott's general good character that the Company will be satisfied with the money he paid the King, together with restitution, and take no further notice

of the affair. With regard to Mr. Bolts, they judge him highly deserving of censure for the disrespect he was guilty of towards his Chief in taking upon himself to arrest Sadool, and in which he was the more culpable, as it is very doubtful whether Cojee Petruse, in whose name he acted had any right to sue for the bond in question. Nor do they allow him any merit in the discovery of the mint farm, as there is reason to believe that he was too much influenced thereto by his being refused a share by Mr. Marriott," The Court of Directors (4th March 1767) were content with restitution on the part of Marriott, and held Bolts "highly deserving of censure," and "if his conduct in future is not perfectly to your satisfaction, we recommended it to you to suspend or dismiss him from the service, as you shall judge his behaviour may deserve."

Tinker.—John Beadon Tinker, the Commodore of the Squadron at the time after campaign with Mir Kasim. Granted by Mir Jafar Rs 1,250,000 as a donation for himself and the services of the Squadron. See Carioccioli: *Life of Lord Clive*, Vol III., P. 563. and see I. O. Cons. 1765. pp. 168-170.

The Widow M.—The Marriage Register at St. John's for April 20th 1765 shows the wedding of "Mr. Francis Charlton and Elizabeth Maitland." Charlton arrived, aged 18, on 4th August, 1754, was one of those who went on board the ship with Governor Drake at the Seige of Calcutta in 1756. After the restoration of Calcutta he become Assistant Military Storekeeper. In 1765 was second at Dacca. 1769 Chief at Chittagong. A Patrick Maitland was Captain of the *Bute*, but as he writes concerning his ship so late as March 25th, it seems hardly likely that he can have been the first husband of Mrs. Charlton.

TO MR. HENRY TOPHAM.

MAULDA,

18th September 1765.

DEAR TOPHAM,—

Yours of the 10th April last from the Cape I have perused with all the pleasing emotions of partial esteem. As everyman has a particular mode of address, we can only form our opinion of the offensive from knowledge of his manner: the pen being as capable as the tongue of imposition, and as frequently expressing sentiments foreign to the heart. As nothing of this, I think, can intrude to the prejudice of our correspondence, the regard we reciprocally entertain, agreeably assures me of its permanence.

Sancho's Government, at least his Esquireship, will be of longer duration than you imagine. The system he has adopted being in some respects materially different from his predecessor's Don Quixote, whom, you may remember, as an errant knight, made no scruple to possess himself of that famous head-piece or helmet and afterwards with assurance De Mambrins to stand the test to the utter confusion of the poor Tonsor. The laws of chivalry, as they direct its professors to appear themselves champions in the cause of distress, render the oppressing of oppressors a part of their occupation—I would say duty; and the steady observance of what these laws enjoin being the peculiar characteristick of our Don, he was, of course, entitled to the exclusive advantages of his perilous achievements. Thus much for a true romance.

His Lordship arrived here the latter end of May. I made a trip to Calcutta to pay my respects. He has done much in a short time, and I

believe will return on the February ship. For particulars apply to Mr. Tinker, who has them from a far abler pen—Leycester's. Not a rupee accon. the Donation yet paid, but many inviduous remarks current on that topic. O! Man! Man! what a strange compound art thou of hypocracy and folly. (Don't abuse me, now Topham). But the more I see of mankind the greater reason I have for disgust. Pray let me know in your next whether such Yahoos inhabit England, where I have had no opportunity to make remarks. The lady with the mawcock—I ought to say without the mawcock as it is given away—will shortly return to Calcutta.

Because R. M,[1] and W. B.[2]
For various reasons can agree.
No wonder how it comes about
Rupees have turned, coming in and out

Truth for truth, and an old saw for an old song, but pray don't judge harshly of Dapper, for tho' the tenor of his life is to be sure against him, he is however free of all censure in his late contention with M., who, like an ass, took it into his head to enjoy forbidden emoluments without admitting B. to a share, who, finding himself excluded, had recourse to his genius, and having obtained authentick copies of some letters to and from Shitabroy respecting the farm of the Benares mint, transmitted them to the Board. How it will end I cannot conjecture; tho' M's a fit subject to be favoured as My Lord may have occasion for a cypher to fill up a vacancy in his Select Committee. You must not conjecture from hence I am a malecontent—I mean out of favor with the powerful—far from it, for they all have given me the strongest assurances of their readiness to render me any services in their power; but, thank fortune! I have no other favour to ask of them than not to trouble themselves about me.

Never forget to pay my respects to Mr. Tinker. I do not write him by this, but shall take that freedom by the next ship. I am sorry, I have not been yet able to procure a drop of Otta nor a piece of the muslin flower'd with a needle. The latter is owing to the negligence of my friend Leycester's Dacca acquaintance, and the prior because none except one middling sized which sold for 2,500 Rs. (two thousand five hundred rupees) at Benares has been offered for sale. It was, to be sure, extremely fine; but the price was beyond what I could have imagined it—16 guineas the ounce. The widow M. has taken upon her the name of Charlton and is retired to enjoy herself. Her retirement cannot, however, be of any duration, as her dear is call'd down to take his seat on the Board. The Mademoiselle you commended

[1] Randolph Marriott.
[2] William Bolts.

to my notice has given me the strangest history I ever heard in my life. If you should see Lewin be sure to tell him the news.

I AM, DEAR TOPHAM,

Your very affectionate friend.

LETTER NO. V.

Mrs. Sarah Mapletoft.—The widow of Robert Mapletoft, the Presidency Junior Chaplain and Captain Lieutenant of the Calcutta Volunteer Militia—who, on going on board the *Diligence* to see his wife, was against his will carried down with the ships when he deserted the defence of Fort William in June, 1756. He died at Fulta. Mrs. Sarah Mapletoft was born at St. Helena where she died in 1792: but she was baptised at Calcutta on Feb. 5 1728 "Sarah, Daughter of Mary Beal from St. Helena." She married

1st. Captain Henry Palmer, a private merchant, who died in 1743.

2nd. James Irwin of the H. E. I. Co's Service who died June 20, 1752.

3rd. The Rev. Robert Mapletoft.

A very full account of the Mapletofts in general and Mrs. Sarah in particular will be found in Hyde's *Parochial Annals*, pp. 104 *et seq.* Mr. Hyde was apparently unaware that Mrs. Mapletoft was in England in 1765.

TO MRS. SARAH MAPLETOFT.

SOUTHAMPTON ROW,

MAULDA,

30th November 1765.

MADAM,—

After such a length of time elapsed, without having been favor'd with a line from your hand, the receipt of your letter of the 7th February, '65 seemed very agreeable. I will not say the satisfaction it afforded was heighten'd by so long a silence, tho' the pleasure of having these apprehensions dissipated, which from a sensibility of my own unworthiness I had begun to entertain, would certainly not have been reaped if such apprehensions had never subsisted, as I value your friendship, as indeed, who does not, to whom worth is discernable. You may depend, as far as my capacity admits, that I shall be assistant to young Irwin.

I was glad to hear of the wellfare of my mother and family, but feel all the sincerest and most genuine esteem is capable to inspire for the ill state of health our friend labours under. My regard renders me diffident of the skill of her physician, of the efficacy of the air and water of Bath, so ingenious are real friends to perplex themselves with possibilitys: You will oblige me much by presenting my salam to Mrs. Champion, and be assured I am still,

MADAM,

Your sincere, etc.

LETTER NO. VI.

TO HIS MOTHER.

[*Not dated*].

MUCH HON'D MADAM,—

Your letter of February is received. I can not sufficiently express the sense I entertain of your kind concernment for my welfare: paint then Madam, to yourself those emotions a son must [have] felt (whose affections are not prompted less by inclinations than filial duty) in the additional testimony you have now given of your maternal tenderness. The nearer you imagine the picture to nature, the greater justice you will do to the sensation your abundant love has created.

The necessaries on the *Grenville* I return my thanks for. Believe me I am quite ashamed of the trouble my inadvertency has occasion'd, but not imagining that you yourself would drive to the woolen drapers, only issue your orders to such servant to whom you might have entrusted the execution of my little commissions, induced me to make mention of what I thought concerning the broad cloth. I shall be more careful in future (unless you assure me you will give yourself only the trouble to order), thinking myself sufficiently obliged, in having such things sent as I may write for, without plaguing my friends by any insignificant accuracy.

To discourage ladies whose merit or beauty may recommend them from coming to India, would be very spiteful indeed, nay much more so than to permit such as we have been lately pestered with (without any qualification to commend them but the gender feminine) to persist in their invasion. It is true that Bengall at present is stock'd with maiden pensioners, who laugh at the false spirit, which the flatterers and fools of the settlement call generosity Whether I speak so harshly of this error, I will not pretend to be my own judge. I am displeased, I must confess to see people lavish their substance in this vain glorious manner, when it may be so much better employ'd in relieving the necessities of their really indigent friends and relations.

I enclose a letter for my Sister, and conclude with sincerest wishes for your happiness and the prosperity of every pledge of your affection—pledges ever dear to me. Thus I include all in one general wish, nor have I in it been unmindfull of myself—having the happiness to be,

MOST HON'D MADAM,
Your very dutifull and affectionate Son.

LETTER NO. VII.

TO HIS SISTER.

MAULDA,
29 November 1765.

DEAR SISTER,—

To receive a letter from you was a pleasure, I confess, unexpected. My health, which you have obligingly inquired after, is, thank God, greatly amended, and I hope will continue to improve, as I am now no longer burthened with that weight of business I was necessitated for these 4 last years to undergo.

No one can with more earnestness wish to be blest with your company than your now absent brother; but, as the crosses of fortune are ever to be dreaded, his return to England may yet be far off.

Continue as you have begun, and indulge me with a letter every year at least, if not oftener, with the news of your own health. For who can reap a greater satisfaction than a brother from the knowledge of your wellfare and testimonies of your esteem and improvement. Believe me to be with great affection.

DEAR FANNY,
Your Brother.

LETTER NO. VIII.

TO MR. EDWARD SMITH.

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL.

MAULDA.
30th November 1765.

SIR,

Your letter of the 8th February afforded me much satisfaction, not only from the esteem I entertain for your worthy father, but the engaging sweetness of disposition I remarked in you in your very puerile years.

I can never sufficiently commend the laudable intention of your parent in giving you the most accomplish'd education: nothing can be lost by it, and, be assured from me, it is the most judicious step that could have been taken for the advancement of your future fortune in this part of the world especially. Permit not, then, too great a fondness for diversion, which is too frequently the case of young men, to call off your attention, but by a steady application acquire those accomplishments designed for you, and, by professing them approve yourself worthy the care of so good a Father, to whom I request my compliments may be made as likewise to Mrs. Smith.

SIR, ETC.

LETTER NO. IX.

MAULDA.

26th November 1765.

DEAR BROTHER,

I have received your letter without a date, and perused it with that degree of satisfaction I should reap from the return of a long absent friend. The cause of your silence is a sufficient apology, and the pleasure you have now given amply repays me for the uneasiness I have sustained from it. Your recommendation of the golden mean is perfectly agreeable to my own way of thinking: how that may be alter'd thro' time must remain undetermined: avarice is the characteristic of age; and, I flatter myself fortune will at least be kind enough not to curse me with that prevailing folly before the usual period.

The publick advices of this year gave me reason to expect the pleasures of your Company. Deceitful proved my hopes, yet shall I not fail to rejoice at my own disappointment should the scheme of life you have preferr'd answer the idea I entertain of your abilities. I shall write you again very shortly: in the meantime be assured.

I AM, DEAR BROTHER.

Your very sincere and affec. Brother and Friend.

LETTER NO. X.

MAULDA.

TO HIS FATHER.

26th November 1765.

MUCH HON'D AND DEAR SIR,

Your Letter of the 16th January, '65 with those of the 6th of February annex'd to your Duplicate of 15th November I have now to acknowledge. My brother, John, refusing to go to India in the station you had been so kind to procure him is to me no matter of wonder. A spirit like his could not be expected would brook a subordination to a younger brother, which must absolutely have been his case had he accepted the appointment. With respect to the scheme of life he has preferred, great abilities are requisite to render him eminent, whereas India is a sure path to competency. A moderate share of attention, and your being not quite an idiot are (in the present situation of things) ample qualities for the attainment of riches. The loss I suffer'd on a vessel of Captain Ingles has been more than doubled by other contingencies. I, however, thank God for placing me in a situation which seems to promise to insure me soon against the powers of that fickle goddess Fortune, unless amongst the various changes, some dictated by

caprice and some by malice, his Lordship should think proper to order me to Calcutta: not that I have any idea of such a thing happening at present, as I have experienced from his Lordship etc., nothing yet to make me distrust the assurances given you: only that, in the present fluctuating system such a change is possible. I shall go down to Calcutta in a few days, when I hope to find the several things you have been so kind to send me out, and at the same time to assure Mr. Hinchman in person of my readiness to rènder him such service as is in my power.

I AM, DEAR AND HON'D SIR,
Your very dutiful and affec. Son.

LETTER NO. XI.

TO MR. THOMAS SMITH,
CHRIST HOSPITAL.

MAULDA,
20th December 1765.

[Of little interest.]

LETTER NO. XII.

Mr. Gladwin—Francis Gladwin—the future Persian scholar. At this time probably a young officer in the Company's army. See *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. IV, p. 509.

TO MRS. BROWNE,
FOSTER LANE.

MAULDA,
27th November 1765.

DEAR MADAM,—

Your obliging letter of the 12th of March last conferr'd a pleasure almost equal to that I should have experienced on the return of a long lost friend, so very very agreeable do I find it to imagine myself possess'd of your esteem. To enter into a discussion on the misunderstandings that have yet existence in a part of our families, as it would be extremely disagreeable, I am glad to find it disapproved of by you: but as those can never extend to my attachments, I have no conception how any absurd legacy can transmit them to posterity. Paternal commands are, I own, sacred; but ought they not to speak the father (*sic*). As there may appear some peculiarity in my way of thinking, permit me to ask you if little Barwell Browne was even designed to offend his Grandfather, and an injunction laid in consequence on you to cast him from your affection, whether obedience would be possible? The same chain of reasoning will likewise hold good where kindnesses conferr'd make a lasting impression on the memory.

The same vein of humour you used sometimes to indulge at my expence, I have satisfaction to perceive, is not yet exhausted. Was I in Foster Lane and dubb'd Nabob, I should be apprehensive, as the next step, I should imagine would be to seat me on my musnud (or throne) then purify me in a tub—the fate you (may recollect) of Dick the Embassador; and perhaps of Jack the Chancellor. With that three tail'd wig he aspires to hide his head in. Before this arrives, Mr. Beaumont will have paid his respects to you in person: otherwise, I can assure you, I should have given him much pleasure by the delivering of yours and Mr. Browne's compliments, as I am certain he places a value on your deeming him worthy to be of your acquaintance. If I can be anyway serviceable to Mr. Gladwin, you may depend upon it I shall. In a few days it is my intention to visit Calcutta, when I shall give him in person such assurances. Present my best wishes to Mr. Browne, and be assured, I am with the sincerest attachment.

DEAR MADAM,

Your affectionate Friend & Servant.

LETTER NO. XIII.

TO JOHN BLADEN TINKER.

MAULDA,

30th November, 1765.

DEAR SIR,—

I should have done myself the pleasure to have wrote to you by the *Admiral Stevens*, but as my letters are only an acknowledgment for that share of esteem to which you have kindly admitted me, my postponing my address was of no consequence; for, if by any of the ship of the season it be sent, the purposed end is answered, to convince that I have not yet attained the politeness to forget.

I received much satisfaction by a letter from Topham, who particularly mentions you had not to your arrival at the Cape been intruded upon by that puffy companion the gout, at times so troublesome to you here. It is a pity you cannot entirely discard him: however, when he makes his next visit, I hope you will welcome him with such a dore(?) as to render him tolerably impertinent; for, be assured, it is the wish of your friends that you either give him his dismission or not admit him to too great intimacy.

My friend, Leycester, has acquainted you with the new system adopted by our Rulers, the little prospect of the payment of the donation money, etc. I shall, therefore, be silent on a topick you must be so much better infirm'd of than it is possible you could from my pen; and, as the suspension of

Leycester will occasion his return to Europe by the next ship, the minutest circumstance cannot fail to be made known to you.

I must request your acceptance of a little bottle of Otta, by Captain Affick (should he arrive in time), or by Leycester. Its appearance does not speak much in its favour, and yet the Oracle consulted on its fate has snorted out "*Ibis, sedibis, nunquam in naso sisibis.*" Believe me to be with much sincerity.

DEAR SIR,
Your obliged and affectionate Honoured Servant.

LETTER NO. XIV.

TO JAMES BARWELL.

CALCUTTA,
4th December 1765.

DEAR BROTHER,—

Your letter of the 8th of February I received but the other day, and had, prior to the request made therein, forwarded your account current to my Father, with the statements of the China voyage as signed by the acting owners. I sincerely congratulate you on your having quitted the ship at Bombay, as you have, by what I then thought an imprudent step, escaped the wreck in which every one of your shipmates (the Second Officer excepted) have been fatally involved. I was very glad to find your treatment from Richardson has been unexceptionable, and that your passage, none of the shortest, proved more agreeable than you expected it. As I do not perceive your name among the super-cargoes appointed for China this season, I shall imagine you perfectly easy under the disappointment. I hope, however, that your stay in England will not produce further discontent, but rather efface that it may have already occasioned. Consider, my brother, whence is your dependence. Consider your duty, your interest, and all that is valuable, and curb those sallies your inclinations approve. I do not mean a rigid forbearance. No: that cannot be expected: it is discretion I would recommend; for, be assured, whoever shall conduct himself—himself alone, regardless of those ties which bind families as well as societies, will at last be himself unregarded. Let not my words impress any unfavourable idea. If you reflect, you must acknowledge I can be influenced by nothing but the sincerest affection, for what else could possibly actuate me to express myself in a manner solely calculated to insure you those advantages to which by birth you are entitled. As it is needless to expatiate further on a subject of this nature, I shall entirely drop it, and flatter myself you will deem the freedom of a friend to be in no respect unbecoming the brother. As I have

transmitted to my Father the most material occurrences in these parts, and which I suppose you to have perused, the reciting of them here would be a trouble to me, without being any amusement to you to you. Roger, I have the happiness to acquaint you, is well and lately recovered from a fit of sickness. He desires his love to you, and Jack, to whom you will likewise present mine, and believe me to be, with the firmest attachment.

DEAR BROTHER,

Your very Affectionate Friend and Brother.

LETTER NO. XV.

TO THE SAME.

Roger.—Roger Barwell arrived 26th August, 1764. Assistant under the Assay Master, 1765. Assistant at Kasim Bazar, 1766.

Barton.—Probably William Barton. Clerk to the Committee of Accounts, 1763. Resident at Burdwan, 1773. Possibly a son of James Barton, Master Attendant in 1759, who married a "Mrs. Ann Ann Pierce," 6th January, 1737, and so perhaps a cousin of Richard Barwell's.

MAULDA,

27th November 1765.

DEAR JAMES,—

I have received the several letters you was so kind as to write to me from Bombay and should have reply'd to them by the ships from hence bound to that place, had there been the least probability of their arriving before your departure for Europe. I am very much obliged for the present of Madeira, but the Gentleman, with whom you left it, being dead, I have not yet received it, nor do I believe I shall ever learn what has become of it. My thanks, however, are equally due to you, as if I had: but, in future, let me beg of you not to put yourself to any expence on my account, but when you design anything for me, admit my paying for it, or you must excuse my non acceptance of it. I have wrote to my Father, in consequence, who will pay you whatever the wine may have stood you in, unless it has been sold by the gentleman's executors, and a remittance made you of the produce. The next voyage you make to India will not, I hope, disappoint me in the same manner as the last: tho' should you reach Calcutta, in my situation, circumstances may intervene which may possibly render our meeting difficult, unless you shall have time sufficient to take a pretty long land Journey. However, Roger will be able to reap that pleasure, should I be denied it, but that is not probable tho' possible, as no occurrences in this part of the world can afford you the least ammusement. I pass them over in silence. Roger is well, and, I

suppose, has wrote, or intends writing by this ship. Barton presents his love, and joins his to your Brothers' wishes for your happiness.

I AM, ETC.,

LETTER NO. XVI.

TO JACOB BOSANQUET, ESQ.,
LONDON.

CALCUTTA,
August 30th 1765.

SIR,—

Your favour of the 23rd May, 1764.—I had not had the pleasure to receive until May in the year subsequent, and am extremely sorry it is not even now in my power to give you the least encouragement to make the consignments you obligingly proposed. Amber, from the strictest enquiry I have been able to make, is an article in no demand, and besides the difficulty of selling, the prices of several assortments, as mention'd in your letter, are within 15 per cent of those of Bengall. Coral beads, at present, is in demand, and in my opinion will continue so, unless very large quantitys shall be imported in '66 and '67. All your commands I shall execute with pleasure.

I AM, SIR ETC.,

LETTER NO. XVII.

TO A. BEAUMONT, ESQ.

CALCUTTA,
8th January, 1766.

DEAR BEAUMONT,—

This serves to enclose a bill on my father for £3,410-12-9, and your account current up to the instant: it will appear a little irregular my method of remitting. It is, therefore, requisite that I acquaint you that his Lordship struck out your's, as well as the names of many others which were down for bills. I, in consequence, waited on him, and represented the hardship, urging every argument in my power; but, deaf to all entreaty, he..... £500—a sum you surely are much more entitled than the numbers of gentlemen who were never in the service, and whose applications were complied with, but this is accountable if you consider the distress of the Select [Committee], and the peculiar attachments of men to themselves.

It gives me more pain to find my favour is not equal to my wishes: as far as in me lay, I have contribute to lessen your disappointment. Should further means offer, you may be assur'd of my attention. I have consulted with both Hardwicke and Hatley, and have been by the latter strongly dissuaded from making a remittance through the channel of the Dutch or French

Companys; but, if either be agreeable, write fully, as I am apprehensive they are the only channels. Bourchier gives you no reason to expect a remittance in diamonds. Of this Leycester will acquaint you, and give you a more true idea of the footing on which remittances are at present, as he will of every other concern both of a publick and a private nature. My story here is short, and the adjustments of accounts call for so much of my attention, that I must refer you to my friend Leycester, whom I have spoke, and who is possessed of many curious anecdotes. Such Government, as of your friends are under, you are happy in not having experienced. Happiness attend you.

Your very affectionate Friend.

TO HIS FATHER. CALCUTTA,

8th January 1766.

[Of little interest.]

LETTER NO. XVIII.

TO HIS FATHER. CALCUTTA,

8th January 1766.

HON'D SIR,—

This is advice of my having drawn on you the 31st December, '65 a bill of Exch. in favour of Mr. William Hay for £100 payable 20 days after sight, which you will be pleased to honor and likewise another bill at a sight of 365 days, in favour of Anselm Beaumont, Esq., for £3410-12-9 dated the 1st instant.

My brother James wrote me, when at Bombay, requesting my acceptance of some Madeira—the amt. I do not remember, but whatever it was I request that the amount be discharged and carried to my debit. A present from a brother will at all times be agreeable, as expressive of that affection I wish to possess, but when it shall border on munificence, I must confess, I would rather decline it, for I would appear to prize the gift, not for its own, but for the sake of its donor.

I AM, ETC.,

Leaves from the President's Note Book.

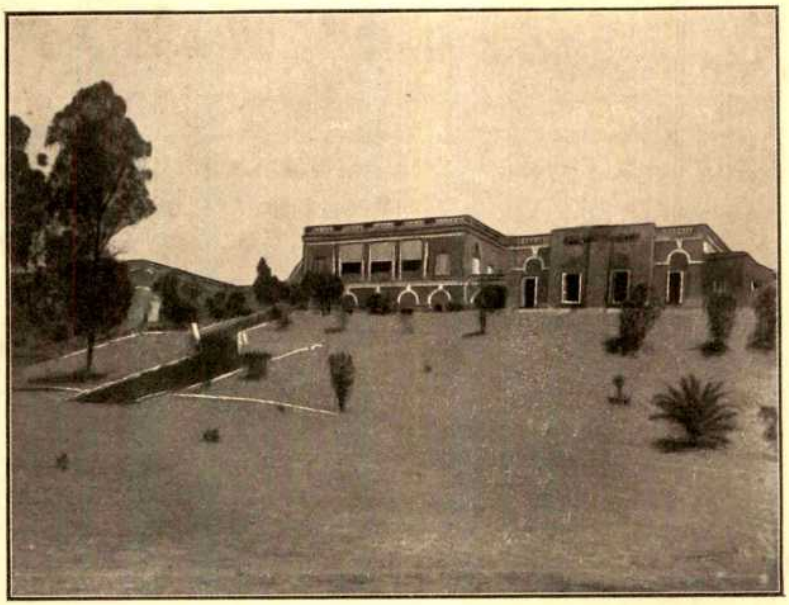
DURING the course of a recent official tour I had occasion to visit the English Cemetery at Bhagalpur. I must congratulate my friend, the Rev. H. Perfect, on the energy he has expended in bringing this old burial ground and its monuments from a condition of decay into one of splendid order. The most interesting monument in this Cemetery is perhaps the obelisk over the grave of the once famous Persian Scholar—Alexander Dow.

Sacred
To the Memory
of
ALEXR. DOW, ESQ.,
Lieut.-Colonel in the
Hon'ble Company's
Service
Who Departed this Life
on the 31st of July,
1779
Aged 43 Years.

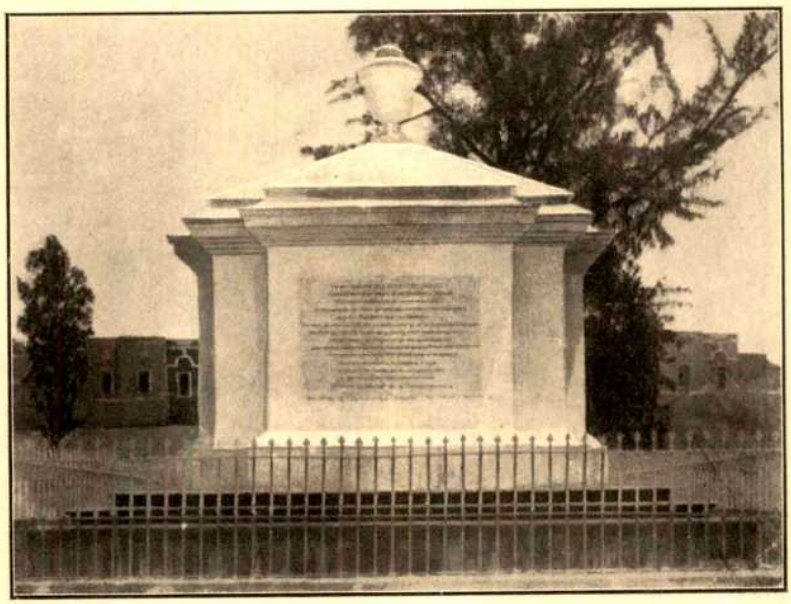
In the Bhagalpur Cemetery there is also to be found the tomb of an officer, whose name has often appeared in *Bengal Past and Present*. The inscription reads:—

Sacred
To the Memory
of
Major General
EDWARD ELLERKER,
Who lived beloved and respected
And died sincerely lammented
On the 15th November, 1800
In the 63rd Year of his Age.

General Ellerker's grave is situated between the graves of the children of Sir Frederick and Lady Hamilton. What a pathetic story do these



THE MESS HOUSE, BHAGALPUR.



THE CLEVLAND MONUMENT.

children's graves disclose! Here is a list of the Hamilton children buried in the Bhagalpur graveyard.

Frederick Brook—Died 27th May, 1805. Aged 5 months and 7 days.
John Francis—Died 1st January, 1811. Aged 4 months.
Marian Frances—Died 6th January, 1811. Aged 1 year, 5 months, 4 days.
Neil—Died 2nd February, 1813. Aged 3 days.
Jess—Died 25th May, 1815. Aged 1 year, 3 months.

The following inscription is perhaps to the memory of a child who died unbaptised:

In Memory of
A CHILD OF MR. & MRS. CHAPMAN
Who died soon after she was born
In December 1784.

I copied the following inscriptions:

I.
Sacred
To the Memory
of
LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN
HUTCHINSON
Many Years Regulating Officer
Of the Invalid Jagheerdar Institution,
His Constitution being destroyed
By unwearied Exertions
For the Benefit and Prosperity
Of the Old Soldiers and their Families,
He departed this life
On the 18th of May, 1801
In the Fiftieth Year of his Age.
Sincerely regretted.

II.
Sacred
To the Memory of
ULYSEES BROWNE
Brevet Captain in the Service
Of the Hon'ble East India Company
Who departed this life
Upon the 4th day of March, 1798
Sincerely and deservedly regretted
By his friends.

III.
To the Memory
of
COLONEL JOHN BATEMAN,
Who died
On the 13th of July, 1799
in
The 49th Year of His Age.

IV.
Hic Jacet
DAVID WOOD.
Nat. Aberdoniae, A.D.
MDCCLXIX.
Obiit
MDCCXCVI,
VIR PROBUS.
CHIRURGUS PERITISSIMUS.

V.

Sacred to the Memory of
MRS. CHARLOTTE FRASER
Wife of Crichton Fraser Esq.
Surgeon of the Hon. E. I. Company's
Service,
Who died in this place on
the
2nd day of May,
1795
Aged 20 years.

VI.

Sacred
To the memory of
MARY ANNE EWING
Wife of
James Ewing Esq.
Of the Bengal Civil Service
Who departed this life
In the 18th year of her age.
Deserved and sincerely
Lamented.
Obeit 27th October 1813.

VII.

Sacred
To the Memory of
GEORGE ELLIOT ESQ.
Who died
On the 17th day of October
In the year of Christ
MDCCXCIV.
Aged 33 years.

VIII.

Sacred
To the Memory of
JOHN GLAS ESQ.
32 Years Surgeon to this Station
And to the Corps of Hill Rangers,
Who departed this life
On the 3rd August 1822
Aged 72 years.
Few Europeans were more respected
By the Natives than Dr. Glas,
He was looked up to, by them
As their common Father:
To the full knowledge of his
profession,
He added a gentleness and mildness
of manners
That made him much beloved
By a numerous circle
Of friends and acquaintances.

IX.

Sacred to the Memory
of
FREDERICK HURTER,
Missionary.
Obiit 17th February, 1849
Aged 41 years.
Faithful unto death.

Amongst other monuments I noted those of :—

CAPT. H. R. PALTON.—17th Regt. N. I. 13th Nov. 1800.

THE REV. THEOPHILUS REICHARDT.—Born 20th May, 1800 at Heidelburg: died near Bhagalpur, 8th August. 1836.*

GEORGE DICKENSON.—Born August 1762 ; died April 1802.

CAPTAIN EDWARD ROBINSON—died [blank] day of [blank] 1781.

* Vide *Bengal Obituary*, p. 364.

SIMON MURCHISON Esq. LATE OF COLGONG—[Khalgaon] 39 years. 24th August 1815.
ROBERT HAVERS OF COLGONG.—23rd July 1820.
CHAS. ABBADIE.
M. OWEN BOWEN.—1790.

Unfortunately I had not time to visit the monument raised by the natives to the memory of Augustus Clevland: but I saw more than once the monument erected by the Hon'ble E. I. Company. It stands in front of the old Mess House of the Hill Rangers, and I noted that the name in the famous inscription (composed by Warren Hastings) is Clevland, and (not as Sir William Hunter has it) "Cleveland." I visited also the old fort at Champanagar, and the Colgong Rocks—the scene of a memorable event in the life of the second Mrs. Warren Hastings. The fine European residence "Barnes' Folly" at Colgong is well worth a visit. It is perhaps worth while suggesting that the Buddhist images now lying on the verandah might well be removed for safer keeping to the Indian Museum at Calcutta.

On June 13, 1760, Governor J. Z. Holwell writes to Warren Hastings, then Resident at Murshidabad.

SIR,—

By express yesterday from Dacca we have advice that the Suba [*i. e.*, Mir Jafar] has taken off Allyverdie and Shaw Amet Khan's begums. He sent a Jemmaut-daar and 100 horse, with orders to Jesseraut Khan to carry this bloody scheme into execution, with separate orders to the Jemmaut-daar, in case Jesseraut Khan refused obedience: he refused acting any part in the tragedy, and left it to the other; who carried them out by night about two miles above the city in a boat, tied weights to their legs, and threw them over-board; they struggled for some time, and held by the gunwall of the boat, but by strokes on their heads with latties, and cutting off their hands, they sunk. These are the acts of the Tyger we are supporting and fighting for.

I am,
Your obedient servant
J. Z. HOLWELL.

To this letter Hastings replied from the "Maraud-Baag" on June 21.

Sir,—

The relation transmitted to me in your letter of the 13th, of the murder of two Begums filled me with horror and astonishment, but how were these

sensations increased when upon inquiry I was told, that not only the two wretched sufferers above mentioned, but the whole family, to the number of nine persons, had undergone the same fate. I will not mention their names, till I have undoubted proofs of the truth of my intelligence, which I wish (tho' I cannot expect it) I may find not so bad at last as it has been represented to me. How this circumstance escaped my knowledge, I know not. It was not indeed an event to be learned from inquiry, and possibly the infamy of the fact might have made my friends, who were in the secret, neglect to speak to me upon a subject, which, from our particular connections with the Nabob, and his entire dependence on our power, could not but reflect dishonour upon the English name I have hitherto been generally an advocate for the Nabob, whose extortions and oppressions I imputed to the necessity of times and want of economy in his revenues; but, if this charge against him be true, no argument can excuse or palliate so atrocious and complicated a villainy (forgive me, Sir, if I add) our supporting such a tyrant.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient, most faithful servant,
WARREN HASTINGS.

These two letters I quote from *An Address to the Proprietors of East India Stock Setting forth the unavoidable Necessity and real Motives for the Revolution in Bengal in 1760 by John Zephaniah Holwell Esq.* London, 1764. Turning to Vansittart's *Original Papers relative to the Disturbances in Bengal, 1759—1767*: Vol I. P. 63; I find the following list of persons alleged to have been murdered at Mir Jafar's instigation:—

"Coja Haddee, the first Buxy, first banished for a pretended conspiracy against the Nabob's life, and afterwards cut off at Shabad in his march out of the province.

"Meer Cazim, the Second Buxy, invited by the Chuta Nabob to his house, and, after having received from him unusual marks of affection, assassinated at the gates of the palace.

"Abdul Ohab Cawn murdered at the Rumna, in the month of March 1760, by some of the Hircarahs belonging to Checon, who waylaid him for that purpose, by the Nabob's orders.

"Yar Mahmud, formerly in great favour with the Nabob Serajah Dowla, and since Droga of the Emarût, slain in the presence of the Chuta Nabob, in the month of April 1760.

"Gasseeta Begum, widow of the Nabob Shahamut Jung.

"Emma Begum, mother the Nabob Serajah Dowla.

"Murâda Dowla, the son of Pâdshâ Couli Cawn, adopted by Shahâmut Jung.

"Lutsen Nissa Begum, widow of the Nabob Serajah Dowla.

"Her infant daughter by Serajah Dowla."

The memorial quoted by Vansittart it is said: "what became of Aliverdi Cawn's widow is uncertain, it being reported by many that she escaped the fate of the rest of her family."

We will now proceed to criticise this list: and firstly we will take the case of Lutf-unnissa: In Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (New Edition edited by H. G. Keene. 1894) it is said "she was murdered in the time of Nawab Ja'far 'Ali Khan with several other women of the house of the late Nawab in June 1760." In the Index to Mr. S. C. Hill's *Bengal in 1756-57*, against the name Lutf-unnissa it is stated she was "murdered by order of Miran," but in the text (Vol I. p. CCVIII) Mr. Hill writes of Siraj-uddaula: "Hated and despised by his subjects and foreigners alike, he left one faithful mourner in his wife, Lutf-unnissa, who for *many* years employed *mullahs* to say prayers at his tomb, which she used frequently to visit." In saying this, Mr. Hill refers to Forster: *Journey from Bengal to England*, 1781. Vol. I. p. 12. The translator of the *Seir Mutaqherin* writes years after the supposed murder of "the bond maid" who "engrossed Siraj-uddaula's affections,"—"this lady is now living at Murshidabad: and although being surprised at Radj-Mahal some years after by Mir-Cassem-Qhan, she was stripped of everything, yet it is certain she is reputed rich; and she enjoys a pension from the Nizamut, *i.e.* from those English whom her lord wished to destroy to a man." With the faithful Lutf-unnissa we may also exclude "her infant daughter" from the list of alleged victims.

Coming now to Ghasita Begum, [Mirhunnissa Begam], the eldest daughter of Aliverdi Khan and wife of Nawazish Muhammad Khan and Amina Begum, the mother of Siraj-uddaula I the Compiler of the Index to Mr. Hill's work, in regard to the last named lady, accepts the story of the murders of these two ladies in 1760, attributing them to Mir Miran and not to his Father, the Nawab. This view is well supported by evidence.

In a letter dated September 30, 1765 Clive and the Select Committee at Fort William write: "In justice to the memory of the late Nabob Meer Jaffier, we think it incumbent on us to acquaint you, that the horrible massacres wherewith he is charged by Mr. Holwell in his *Address to the Proprietors of East India Stock* (page 46) are cruel aspersions on the character of that Prince, which have not the least foundation in truth. The several persons

there affirmed, and who were generally thought to be murdered by his order, are all now living except two, who were put to death by Meeran, without the Nabob's consent or knowledge; and it is with additional satisfaction we can assure you that they are lately released from confinement by the present Subah, which fully evinces the entire confidence he reposes in the Company's protection against all attacks on his Government."

The evidence of the *Seir Mutâqherin* is that both Ghasita and Amina were murdered by the order of Mir Miran. The author of the *Seir Mutaqherin* also attributes the death of Khwaja Hadi Khan ["Coja Haddee"] and Mir Qasim Khan ["Meer Cozim"] to the same hand.

From Scrafton's *Observations on Mr. Vansittart's Narrative* (1766), I extract the following translation of "an address to Lord Clive, received December 10, 1765:—"[1]

> "We Moraud-ul-dowlah, Son of Jeeram-ul-dowlah with my two sisters, Sheeruff-ul-nissa, wife of Aliverdy Cawn, with the wife and daughter of Serage-ul-dowlah, Shookabolla Cawn, Husfwz Alla Cawn, Meerzay, etc., sons of Sirfuráz Cawn, with our three sisters, Jessarut Jung, Mirza Jubba, etc., sons of Soulah Jung, with our mother and one sister.
>
> By our ill fortune former rulers have, for a long time past, kept us innocent people, imprisoned at Dacca, and we did not receive regularly even the slender sustenance which was allowed us. By the hardships of imprisonment and our distress for food and necessaries, our life was rendered bitter to us. When the Nabob Maun-un-dowlah · Bahadre Muzzufar · Jung[2] came to Dacca, he paid us our small allowance regularly, month by month. Now that your Lordship, out of your great kindness, has released us from our confinement, we are arrived safe at Moorshidabad. For the rest of our lives, receiving an allowance from the Sircar and furnishing ourselves with necessaries, we shall be constantly employed in praying for the perpetuity of your prosperity and glory, and shall never be guilty of any improper action contrary to your pleasure.
>
> Under the seal of
> Seif-ul-deen Mahomed-Cawn.
> Mahomed Mogloo.
> Mooly Begum.
> Shooka-Oolla Cawn.

[1] See *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*. Vol. I. No. 2761.
[2] *i. e.*, Muhammad Rizā Khān.

Shereef-ul-nissa Begum.
Lutf-ul-nissa Begum.
Mahomed Huffuz Olla Cawn, Br.
Iyeva Begum, daughter of Ullaur-ul-dowlah.
Nussur-ul-deen Mahamed Cawn.
Aboo Tiraub Cawn.
Ausun-ul-den Mahomed Cawn, Br.
Monsinna Begaum, daughter of Ullaur-ul-dowlah.
Mahun Begum.
Lauralu Begum, daughter of Ullaur-ul-dowlah.
Jessarut Jung.
Yeitazaud-ul Dowlah.
Mahomet Toula, son of Soulut Jung.

This list of petitioners in 1765 was regarded by Scrafton as a complete refutation of all the allegations of murders in 1760. It certainly makes the point clear as to Luft-un-nissa and her child ("the wife and daughter of Serage-ul-Dowlah"), but who are the other petitioners?

"Ullaur-ul-dowlah" is doubtless 'Alā-uddaula, *i.e.*, the Nawab Sarferaz Khan. The Begums Iyeva,[1] Monsinna,[2] and Lauralu.[3] are thus daughters of the Nawab defeated in battle by Aliverdi Khan. Shereef-ul-nissa [Sharifu-n-nissa] was the wife of Alivardi Khan. Adversity makes strange companions.

Who is the "Moraud-ul-dowlah" whose name commences the petition? The Morad Dowla said by Holwell to have been murdered was "the son of Padsha Kooly Khan, adopted by Shaw Amet Jung." The petition, to adopt the orthography of the *Persian Calendar* is "Murādu-d-daulah the son of Juramu-d-daulah [?]." It appears to me that Juramu-d-daulah is no other than "Ecram-ed-doulah" (*Seir Mutaqherin.* Vol. II. p. 119), a younger brother of Siraj-uddaula. The Author of the *Seir Mutaqherin* relates that Ali Verdi Khan, to console the grief of his nephew Nawazish Khan at the loss of Ecram-ed-dowlah (his adopted son) bestowed the title of "Murad-ed-doülah" ("wished for of the Empire") on a son born by one of Ecram's ladies after the death of her lord. The Translator of the *Seir Mutaqherin* writes of this offspring of the younger brother of Siraj-uddaula:—"This prince, who is a handsome man, with all that beauty of features hereditary in that family, now lives at Murshidabad, where he enjoys a pension of more than five hundred rupees a month from the English of whom so much ill is said, so

[1] Tyeva—? Tayyibah.
[2] Muhsinah.
[3] Lādli.

much more suspected, and who yet have supported and relieved every person remaining of that inimical family." If this identification be correct, it is clear that Murad-ud-daulah and his two sisters are the great nephew and great nieces of Sharifu-n-nissa.

The reader may perhaps be reminded that Siraj-uddaula was the son of Alivardi Khan's daughter Amina, and that the father of Siraj-uddaula was Zain-ud-din Ahmed Hybut Jang, the son of Haji Ahmed, Ali Vardi Khan's own brother. The Nawazish Khan who adopted Murad-ud-daulah was the husband of Ghasita Begum, one of the subjects of this enquiry, and also a son of Haji Ahmed. The last on the list of Clive's petitioners is "Mahomet Toula Son of Soulat Jung" [correctly Muhammad Jubba son of Saulat Jung]. Saulat Jung was a brother of Zain-ud-din, and therefore "Mahomet Toula" was a first cousin of Siraj-uddaula's. "Yeitajaud-ul Dowlah" [I'tizadu-d-daulah] is the brother of "Mahomet Toula. Shooka oolla Cawn [Shukru-l-lah Khan], Hafzulla [Hafizu-l-lah Khan], Mahomed Mogloo [Muhammad Mughlu] are three of at least six sons of the gallant but ill-fated Nawab Sarfaraz Khan: "Meerjai" being the same person as Muhammad Mughlu.

Of the ladies who sign the petition there are six. The ladies mentioned in the body of the petition are ten.

Two sisters of Murad-ud-daulah.
Sharifu-n-nissa.
Luft-un-nissa and daughter.
Three daughters of Sarfaraz Khan.
The mother and sister of Muhammad Jubba.

It remains to be discovered who were

Moti Begam.
Mahin Begum.

If they were not the sisters of Murad-ud-daula they must have been the wife and daughter of Syed Ahmed Soulat Jung—the sister and niece of the Begums Ghasita and Amina.

Holwell, when confronted with the list of Clive's petitioners, attempted to resist the evidence by suggesting that "Murada Dowla the Son of Padsha Couli Cawn" (the person he asserted to have been murdered) was a different person from "Moraud-ul-dowlah, Son of Jeeram-ul-dowlah," and that the petitioners probably, were members not of Ali Vardi Khan's but Sarfaraz family. From the *Seir Mutaqherin* (Vol I. p. 345), however, we learn that

"Badshah-Culy-Qhan" was the surname of Siraj-uddaula's younger brother. Holwell's ignorance of the Murshidabad families is surely most extraordinary, when it is remembered that Holwell had not only been Governor, but that he prided himself on his acquaintance with the history of Bengal.

An eminent member of our Society, Father H. Hosten S. J. is to be congratulated on the appearance of his edition of Monserrate's *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius* in the "Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal." As has been already stated in *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. I. p. 184) the simply invaluable MS. of Father Anthony Monserrate was discovered by the present writer among a number of volumes that had been transferred from the old Metcalfe Hall to the Cathedral Library in 1903. In his introduction Father Hosten enters upon an attempt to discover how this "precious heirlom of the Jesuits in India" found its way to Calcutta. He refers to a library mark "I. P. 46" in printers ink, which he says "had been covered with a strip of white paper." He asks "we can account for all the library marks, except I. P. 46, and can trace the history of the MS. as far back as 1818. I. P. 46 is the oldest mark of all. Did it belong to one of the former houses of Jesuits in Goa? It is scarcely possible to establish this in India." May I venture to suggest to Father Hosten that a possible method of research, in regard to "I. P. 46" would be to examine some of the volumes which were transferred to the Cathedral Library at the sametime as the *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius?* If Father Hosten would inspect, for instance, the volumes of St. Chrysostom which came to St. Paul's Library at the time mentioned, he would find a similar library mark—I. F. followed by numerals—and covered over with strips of white paper.

By the kindness of the Proprietors and Editor of the *Statesman* I am enabled to include two excellent views of the old Calcutta Assembly Rooms. This building, which stood at the corner formed by Council House Street and Dalhousie Square, was pulled down during the first fortnight of June, 1914. It will, therefore, be opportune to reprint in this place a few extracts from Seton-Karr's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette.*

I. Thursday, June 19th, 1788.

Public Exchange.

A place of Public Resort for the purpose of meeting and transacting Business, appearing to have been much wished for in Calcutta, and the chief obstacle thereto being the want of a proper building for the occasion,

it has been agreed by a Society of Gentlemen to engage the house lately occupied by Mr. Raban, and situate at the corner of the Great Tank opposite to Messrs. Ord and Knox's, which will be opened on Tuesday, the 17th instant, for that purpose, under the title of the Calcutta Exchange Coffee-Room, and on the following terms :—

1st—That the House will be open to the admission of all persons, whether Europeans, Natives, or others.

2nd—That two Rooms will be appropriated to the occasion, one of which will be for the use of the Subscribers and the other for the Non-subscribers.

3rd—That separate apartments will be allotted to the subscribers for the transaction of business, during change hours.

4th—That Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays shall be the days of meeting.

5th—That the doors be opened at Ten, shut at Twelve, and the rooms cleared by One o'clock.

6th—That the subscription shall be open to all individuals at the Rate of five Sicca Rupees per month each, and will be received by Mr. Thomas Clark, the keeper, on subscribing, and on the first day of every month following.

II.

The 26th April, 1798.

Calcutta Exchange Coffee House by subscription, will be opened on or about the 1st of July next.

The Coffee House to be open to all gentlemen, merchants and traders; to consist of three rooms, commodiously fitted up, having access from Council House Street and likewise from Tank Square, and to be accomodated with all the Newspapers printed in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, also with two of the most approved London Papers, which will be sent out by every conveyance, and some of the most curious and interesting political pamphlets that may appear from time to time.

The Coffee House to be let to an active and experienced person who shall at the same time carry on the Tavern business, and who may have the use of the Exchange Hall when not interferring with the great public entertainments, but the subscription to remain always in the hands of the proprietor. The subscription to be four rupees per month, and paid monthly.

N.B.—The assembly subscription, which had lately been joined to the Coffee House subscription, but for particular reasons has been separated,

THE EXCHANGE AND ASSEMBLY ROOMS.

By kind permission of "The Statesman."

will again be opened when the rooms are finished and the number of assemblies reduced from six to four. The publick will then have an opportunity of judging of the beauty, elegance, and convenience of the rooms, and how far the proprietor is entitled to their patronage. The room when finished will be let by the night for all entertainments, balls, concerts, and public meetings at a moderate charge, by application to the proprietor.

Subscriptions taken in by Messrs. Fairlie Gilmore and Co., Messrs. Cockerell, Trail, and Co., and Messrs. Colvin and Bazett.

III.

The 28th March 1799.

Calcutta Exchange lottery.

The proprietor of the Exchange and Public Rooms, with regret, informs the public, that he is under the necessity of relinquishing every future prospect of advantage which he might derive from these rooms, by the pressure of debts contracted in the building of them. To satisfy a number of claimants, who are not in circumstances to afford delay, he is advised to offer the following scheme of a lottery :—

The drawing to take place in June next, and to be concluded in eight days.

Tickets will be ready in a few days, and may be had at the Bank of Hindoostan; and will also be despatched to Madras, Bombay, and the several Civil and Military stations in Bengal.

SCHEME.

		Sa. Rs.	Sa. Rs.
The value of the Exchange and Public Room		99,400	
Money.		60,600	160,000
1600	Tickets at Rs 100 each	160,000	
8.	1st drawn Tickets of each day, a prize of Sicca Rs 500	4,000	
8.	The 100th Ticket of each day's drawing, a prize of Sicca Rs. 500. ...	4,000	
8.	The last drawn Ticket of each day, a prize of Sicca Rs. 1000,	8,000	
1.	The 180th Ticket of the last day's drawing, the capital prize, the Exchange and public Rooms.	99,400	

1.	The 190th Ticket of the last day's drawing, a prize of Sicca Rs.	5,000	
360	Prizes of Sicca Rs 110 each	39,600	
386	Prizes.		
1214	Blanks.		
1600	Tickets.	16,000	160,000.

COMMISSIONERS.

Messrs. William Fairlie	... John Clark.
Alex. Colvin ...	... Johannes Sarkes.
John Palmer ...	... Moses C. Arackel.
Geo. Tyler ...	... William Tulloh, and
John Gilmore ...	... J. T. Kennedy.
Luis Barretto.	

PRICE OF TICKETS.

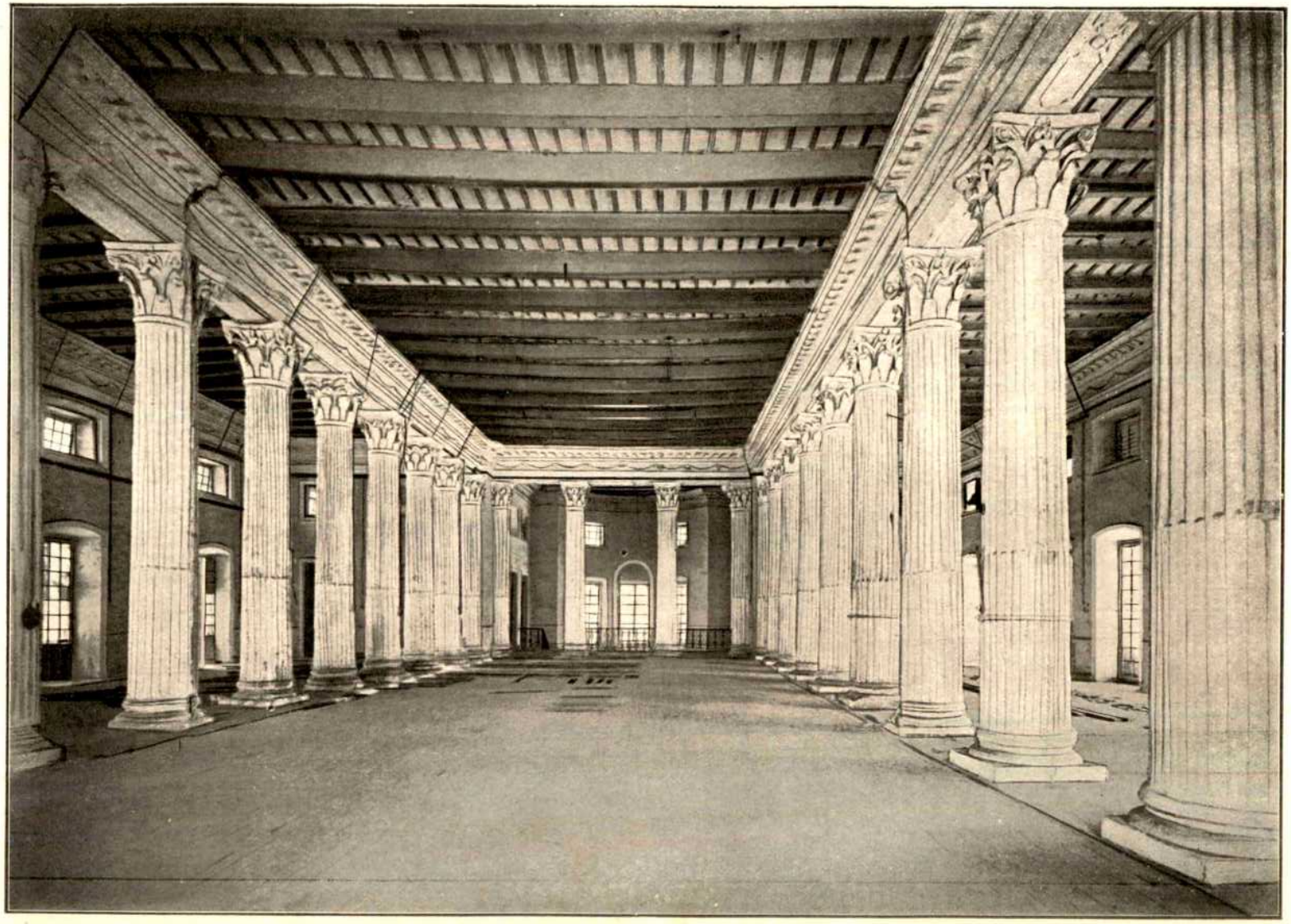
	Sa. Rs.
Whole Tickets ...	... 100
Half Ditto. ...	... 50
Quarter Ditto. ...	... 25

The Exchange and public rooms, from their centrical situation in Calcutta, may be looked upon as the most valuable property in it; they are calculated for various purposes—for Assembly rooms of the first order—for Public Offices—and for the first shops in the world. The rent must alway prove on elegant independency to the fortunate adventure. The proprietor having no view of private advantage in this lottery, but merely to get out of the present difficulty, the ten per cent commission, generally deducted from all prizes, shall, in this, be appropriated for the relief of those unfortunate people, killed and wounded on board the *Sybille*, or employed as a bounty for seamen, to man *La Forte*, or for the behoof of the Free School Charity, and Native Hospital, agreeable to the wisdom of the Commissioners, who shall have the sole management and direction of the commission.

N.B.—This last addition to the former advertisement is the suggestion of several friends, and the proprietor hopes the public will coincide in the opinion that it is just.

JOHN MACDONALD.
Secretary.

23rd March 1799.



THE ASSEMBLY ROOMS.

By kind permission of "The Statesman."

I am inclined to believe that "the Assembly and Public Rooms," after the lottery, became for a time Messrs. Carlier and Scornee "New Rooms"—*i.e.*, restaurant. About the year 1800 they were rented by the Marquis of Wellesley, and formed part—the Provost's Chambers—of his "New College." Some pages of Vol. III. (376-382) of the *Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes* are occupied with an account of a brilliant Concert, Ball and Supper given by the Settlement on the 18th of May, 1803 in honour of the Governor-General. On this occasion "the attic windows" of the Ball room were fitted with transparencies commemorating events in the war against Tipu Sultan. "The piers of the room were all filled with large mirrors, which reflected the different objects in every direction. The house was splendidly lighted. A beautiful display of lustres and girandoles produced the most brilliant effect, and combined with the reflection from the mirrors, and the richness of the dresses of the ladies,[1] diffused a splendour which it is impossible to describe. .....A large house was fitted up for the occasion, and was connected with the College by temporary platforms, leading to a spacious terrace covered in and decorated to present a rural promenade, which formed an admirable contrast to the brilliancy and magnificence of the room." The great square below was ablaze with illuminations.

Among the illustrations in the present number will be found one showing the curious pillars to be seen at Dimapur in Assam. These pillars stand in what is held to be an early capital of the Kachari Rajas which was sacked by the Ahoms in 1536. The generally accepted theory is that the V shaped monuments were erected to commemorate the sacrificial feasts held by some ancient tribe. This theory is in accordance with the existing practices of the Naga tribes in the neighbourhood. The approach to these monuments is through a solid-brick gate way belonging to comparatively late Mahomedan times. There is something exceedingly mysterious about Dimapur and its ruins. The photograph was taken by me on my way to Manipur in 1911.

The portrait of Bishop Thomas Fanshawe Middleton which forms a *frontispiece* for the present number, is intended to remind readers of *Bengal Past and Present* that the centenary of the Installation of the first Bishop of Calcutta will occur on December the Second next. The simple stone

[1] The dress "was white muslin of gold spangles, and richly embroidered round the bottom of the gown and sleeves, with a border composed of the tiger-stripe and star alternate in purple and gold: this device was copied from the colours of Tippoo Sultaun, taken at Seringapatam. The head-dress was a white spangled turban, with ornaments similar to the border of the gown, and decorated with a plume of white feathers."

DIMAPUR. ANCIENT STONE PILLARS.

DIMAPUR. ASSAM.

History of the Calcutta Madrassa—II.*

IN November, 1860,† the Director of Public Instruction submitted a report from Principal Lees on the plan which should be adopted for giving effect to the orders of the Government of India referred to in the first portion of this paper. He showed that the Anglo-Persian Department, which was sending every year students for the University Examinations, had proved a decided success; and that the Arabic Department, since the discussions in 1858, had made considerable improvement. He accordingly proposed that the measures then in progress should be allowed to work themselves out, and that nothing should be done to unsettle the minds of the Moulvies by introducing fresh changes. The Arabic Professors had grown more tractable, and were being made to believe that in the reforms intended Government had only meant to benefit their fellow-countrymen. He had no cause of complaint against the Professors, and were the services of any of them dispensed with, he would find some difficulty in filling their chairs with better men. Nevertheless, the Arabic Department was not all that could be wished; but to accomplish better things, better men were required; and these were not forthcoming. In the meanwhile, he recommended that, in order to enable the pupils of the Anglo-Persian Department to commence their studies in the Arabic Department on obtaining Junior Scholarships, they should learn Arabic Grammar in the two senior classes, and that the scholarships might be held optionally either at an Oriental or an English College.

The Lieutenant-Governor expressed‡ much gratification at the results exhibited; but with reference to the introduction of the Arabic Grammar into the Anglo-Persian Department, he had doubts whether, burdened as its pupils were with Persian, it would be proper to impose Arabic on them. He thought it would be better to have the Elementary Grammar class in the Arabic College Department, and to make arrangements for those students of the Anglo-Persian Department who do not intend to go into the Arabic Department, afterwards attending this class if they

* Concluded from page III of *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. VIII, Serial No. 15.

† Education Proceedings for March, 1864, Nos. 17-18.

‡ Education Proceedings for March 1864, No. 19.

please. As to the option of the Anglo-Persian Junior Scholars joining either the Arabic or an English College, he thought there could be no doubt of choice being in accordance with the principles laid down by Government.

In December, 1862, the Director forwarded* a further report from Principal Lees describing the effect of the changes which had been introduced into the Madrassa. Referring to the letter written by him in 1860, which has already been noted, he says.—

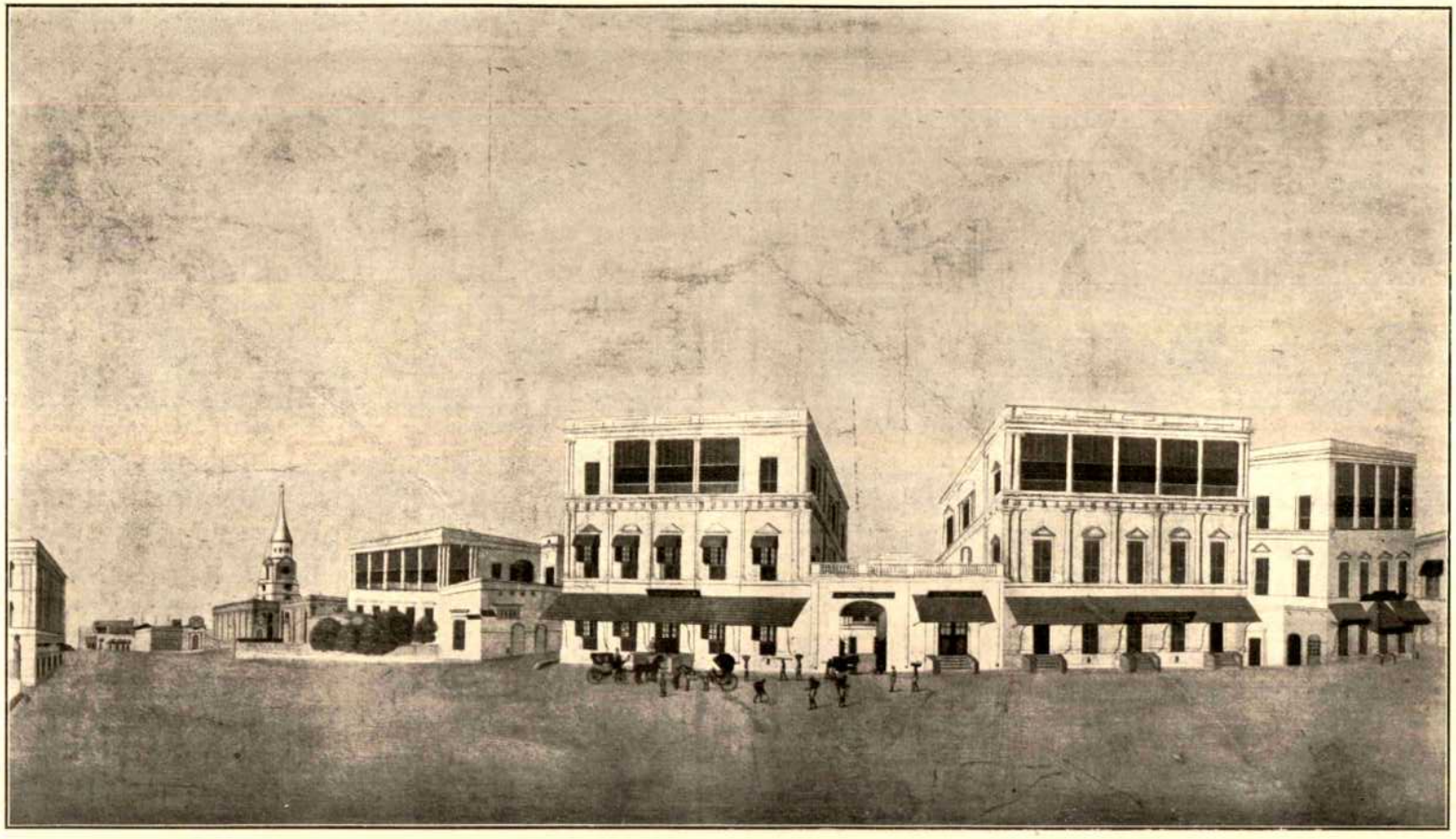
"As regards the Arabic Department the system sketched in the report referred to has been steadily adhered to. No alteration has been made in the course of study. The Maulvies have accepted the responsibilities of their high position, and without surveillance are attentive to their duties. The students (115 in number) are diligent in their studies and more regular in their attendance I believe than those of any Educational Institutions in India. The scholarships, both Senior and Junior, are zealously competed for, and fairly and honourably gained. The voice of complaint from Professors or students, outside or inside the walls, is no longer heard; and (what is most gratifying to me) I am now able safely to say that the time has come when both the Professors and students of this college have learned to look on the Principal not as the worst enemy of their race, but as their best friend. The Principal then has no reason to find fault; and the Mohamedans generally, if I may judge seem satisfied with the Government, with him and with the Madrissa, which, as the oldest educational Institution in India, and the college with which are connected the early associations of every educated Mohamedan in Bengal, has naturally a place in their affections that no new institution, however excellent or efficient, could be expected to retain.

"The conclusion I draw from the state of things is that the condition of the Arabic Department of the Calcutta Madrissa is such as to afford reasonable and satisfactory ground for concluding that it will contribute, in its degree, towards giving the Mohammedans of these Provinces such an education as the Government can approve, and will eventually be most beneficial and most acceptable to themselves."

As regards the Anglo-Persian Department he showed that the pupils regularly every year went up to the University, that on passing the Entrance Examination they carried on their studies in English in the Presidency and other colleges, that one of these had obtained the degree of B.A. and would soon be followed by others. He then went on:

"The first of these difficulties has been removed as proposed in my report by introducing the study of Arabic into the Higher Classes of the School; and this change, I am happy to say, has given much satisfaction to the

* Education Proceedings for March 1862, Nos. 24-26.



OLD PICTURE (ABOUT 1840) OF GOVERNMENT PLACE, CALCUTTA.
By kindness of C. F. HOOPER,ESQR.

Mahomedans. But, though I warned them that no matter how fluently they might speak and write the English language, how well-acquainted they might be with Locke and Bacon, Milton and Shakespear, though such knowledge might fit them for transacting the business of Government and make them more acceptable to the Sahib-Log, no amount of it would make educated gentlemen of them in a society composed solely of their own countrymen, they did not nevertheless show any desire to graduate in Arabic in preference to English. Some students joined the Medical College, some the College of Civil Engineering, but none entered the Arabic College. Nor could they indeed do so without injuring their academical career, as the Madrissa is not affiliated to the University, and, if it were, it is without means of educating up to its standards."

But even this difficulty soon disappeared. In the year in which he wrote five out of six candidates for entrance into the University had declared for Arabic, and in the year following the whole of the University candidates from the Madrassa elected to enter the Arabic College.

In the meanwhile, a discussion arose as to the measures that were to be taken for obtaining for the Arabic Department of the College affiliation with the Calcutta University. With this view the assistance of Professor Cowell, of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, was sought, and a report was asked for from him on the subject. He was desired to visit the Madrassa and to favour the Lieutenant-Governor with an opinion on the system of instruction there pursued, especially in the Arabic Department, reporting at the same time what measures he thought necessary for bringing the College into harmony with the general plan of education in Bengal, and for enabling the students, while acquiring a critical knowledge of the Arabic language, to make themselves masters of English and to obtain through that medium such knowledge of the Sciences as is required for a University degree. Professor Cowell expressed his diffidence at the personal qualification for the task imposed on him, but offered to write an account of the changes introduced into the Sanskrit College, to bring it into harmony with the University scheme.

From the above facts it is clear that at any rate in 1858, the failure of the Calcutta Madrassa became more conspicuous in the light thrown on it by the events of the Mutiny. It was clear that the result of its system was to turn out a few scholars good in their peculiar narrow way, but not in the least fitted to take their position in the competition of official or general life, and in consequence, they were as a class bigoted, self-sufficient, disappointed and soured, if not actually disloyal. And this view was pressed upon the Government by no one more strongly than Principal Lees himself; and the substance of the proposals which he submitted for its reform was

to carry out the general views of the Committee of 1851-53, and in fact, to improve still more largely the Anglo-Persian branch, to make the teaching in the Arabic Department less narrow and technical by diminishing the study of law, logic, and philosophy, and by introducing some general Arabic literature and the elements of history with a view to more largely liberalising and eventually practically anglicising this branch of the institution also.

But the opinions expressed by Principal Lees in the voluminous papers submitted to Government, involving many difficult points, with much complication of detail, were, however, generally opposed to those entertained by all the Educational Authorities in Bengal and were not accepted by either Sir Cecil Beadon or Sir William Grey, who holding strongly the views of Lord William Bentinck's Minute of 1835, desired entirely to sweep away the College altogether as a hopeless failure and costly encumbrance. Hence it was felt by the Bengal Authorities to be practically useless to attempt to introduce *their changes* which were strongly objected to by Principal Lees with the support of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, so long as he continued as Principal, and the consideration of the subject was from time to time deferred until circumstances should appear to justify decisive action.

Such favourable circumstances appeared to have occurred during 1868-69. Principal Lees was then absent in England, and the condition of the Mahomedan population of India as regards education was brought prominently to the attention of the Government of India in connection with the Wahabi conspiracy.

And "as continued dissatisfaction expressed by intelligent Mahomedan gentlemen at the Presidency as regards the Calcutta Madrassah, an institution to which much value was attached by the Mahomedan community" had reached the Bengal Government from various sources, the Lieutenant-Governor was induced in July 1869 to direct an enquiry into the condition and management of the Institution, and with this view appointed a Committee composed of Mr. C. H. Campbell, Commissioner of the Presidency Division, Mr. J. Sutcliffe, Principal of the Presidency College and Moulvi Abdool Lateef Khan Bahadur, then a Deputy Magistrate. The points to which the Committee's attention was particularly directed were the following :

(a.)—In the *Arabic Department.*—The qualifications required from candidates for admission ; the organisation of the classes ; the course of instruction prescribed ; the system of Scholarships ; and the arrangements for the annual examinations and the award of Scholarships and Prizes.

(b.)—In the *Anglo-Persian Department.*—The apparent failure of the College Classes, and the causes of such failure. In the general *School Classes,* the qualifications required from candidates for admission ; the small success of the pupils at the University Entrance Examination and its causes ;

the organisation, management, and condition of the *Infant School Classes*; and the method of conducting the general annual examination and of awarding Prizes.

(c.)—The condition and management of the Branch School.

(d.)—The general management and discipline of the Institution; the duties, nominal and actual, of the Resident Munshi and Munshi; the manner in which their duties are performed, and the need of retaining such Officers; the nature of the control exercised over the teachers generally; their qualifications, the hours and regularity of attendance; the position of the Principal in relation to the Professor and Head Master and the several Departments of the Institution.

(e.)—The condition and management of the Library.

(f.)—The Office arrangements in regard particularly to the duties of the Head Clerk, and the supervision exercised over him; the circumstances attending the defalcations of the late Head Clerk, and the reason why the matter was not brought to the notice of Government.

Sir William Grey "desired to receive a full and complete report on all the above subjects of enquiry, together with any suggestions which the Committee might desire to offer for the general improvement of the Institution, with the view of adapting it to the then requirements of the Mahomedan Community of Bengal."

The Committee commenced their labours in the beginning of August, and in endeavouring to ascertain the feeling of the Mahomedan Community in regard both to the system of education which was then followed, and that which, in their opinion, ought to be adopted in the Madrassah, they examined the Officials of the Institution from the Officiating Principal (Major E. St. George) downwards, besides a large number of leading and learned Mahomedan gentlemen, and many of the pupils and their guardians and others.

The proceedings of the Committee excited the greatest interest among the Mahomedans of Lower Bengal, who highly appreciated this attempt on the part of the Government to improve their favorite place of education, and numerous long and elaborate letters and addresses were sent up to the Committee by the Mahomedan Literary Society of Calcutta, and by leading and representative Mahomedan gentlemen from many Districts both in Bengal and Behar, showing in detail the abuses and defects that had crept into the Madrassah, and suggesting various measures for their rectification.

After making a thorough investigation into the affairs of the Institution, during the space of four months, and paying due attention to the evidence of witnesses examined, and to the written communications received from various sources, the Committee submitted an elaborate Report on the 1st December 1869, a few paragraphs from which are given below:—

"167. Our enquiries, we consider, have clearly established that the Mudrussah, as a place of Arabic learning, has, of late years, greatly sunk, and with good reason, in the popular estimation, this result being the effect of the present five years' course of instruction, instead of the old eight years' course; of the inappropriate character of some of the Text Books; of the lowness of the standard required to obtained and retain Scholarships; of the inferiority of the Professors (ex-students of the Institution); of the want of incentive to learn since Law Officerships, etc., were abolished; and of the want of active interest in the Institution on the part of the higher Authorities generally. All classes of Mahomedans, we believe, concur with us in thinking that the Arabic Department requires entire and immediate remodelling. As at present constituted, it is simply useless to the students themselves and to the Government which supports it.

"168. The great end in view by a Mahomedan in the study of Arabic is an acquaintance with his Religious Law as contained in the original Arabic books. Arabic Literature, Logic, Rhetoric, etc., are all simply the means to this end, and; except so far as they conduce to this end, he has no regard for them. At the same time he has no exclusive intention of gaining his livelihood by setting up as a Moollah or a religious Teacher. On the contrary he is, equally with others, bent on obtaining when his education is finished the most profitable and honorable worldly employment in his power. From all we can learn, however, the Arabic education of late years obtainable in the Mudrussah is exceedingly superficial indeed, of but small use to him even in a religious point of view; while of general education, calculated to help a Mahomedan boy on in the world, there is absolutely none.

"169. This is perceived by none more clearly than the Mahomedan Community themselves, and we have the strongest, possible practical demonstration in the fact that the great mass of Mahomedans round Calcutta send their sons to the Anglo-Persian Department of the Institution, where they must needs be content with what is hardly more than a mere smattering of Arabic. It would, indeed, be far better to abolish the Arabic Department altogether, than allow the present state of things to continue for a day longer than is absolutely necessary to carry out the reforms which we are about to propose.

"170. It may be said that since the abolition of Law Officerships, the introduction of the Penal Code, etc., etc., Government is not interested in keeping up the Mudrussah as a place of instruction in Arabic Law, which, except as regards actual religious observances (the teaching of which to any class of its subjects the British Government repudiates), and such subjects as Inheritance, Gifts, Endowments, Marriage, Dower, Divorce, Wills, etc., is not even applicable to Modern India; that the

Arabic instruction offered is only taken advantage of by a very limited section of the Community (chiefly residents of Eastern Bengal); that there is a special Mudrussah at Hooghly, which is supported not by the State, but by a Private Endowment, to which lovers of Arabic learning can resort, and at which valuable Scholarships can be gained; and that, accordingly, it is unnecessary for Government any longer to keep up the Arabic Department. We are not, however, of this opinion.

"171. It is true that such questions as we find put at late examinations as to slaves, homicide, etc., are quite out of place at the present day, and that it would be better under all the circumstances, that the bestowal of Government Scholarships should in no way depend on a minute knowledge of Ceremonial Religious Law as to prayers and such like, though of course such subjects are most proper for a Mahomedan to make himself acquainted with. There can be no doubt, however, that Government have clearly a direct interest in fostering a knowledge of Oriental languages, including Arabic and that it would be directly inconvenient in many ways if Arabic learning were to die out. We hold, too, that the *actual teaching* of all such religious and legal subjects to which objection could be taken might in a great measure be avoided, though we see no possible objection, but the contrary to books on Mahomedan Law generally being read in the various classes as *Literature*, for which purpose they are, we believe, as well adapted as any other book.

"172. Mahomedans, it seems to us, no more than Christians or Hindoos, have a right to expect that the Imperial Exchequer should provide funds for absolute instruction in tenets or ceremonies of their religion. If we give them what may be looked on as the key to that learning *viz., a good knowledge of Arabic as a language,* and a good general education to enable them to keep pace with the educated class of Hindoos, and to qualify themselves for service under Government, the rest, we think, may fairly be left to themselves; and this we think is what the Founder and subsequent promoters of the Institution really contemplated.

"173. As regards the limited section which at present resort to the Arabic Department, we think if the Department were made more suitable to the wants of the present day, a large number would avail themselves of it, though it is probable that Anglo-Persian Department, as affording a more certain means of obtaining a profitable livelihood, will continue to be the more popular.

"174. With regard to Hooghly, we would observe that the great drawback to it is the want of accommodation for Mahomedans. If, in this respect, it had the same advantages as Calcutta, there would be less difficulty in constituting it the chief place for Arabic Education, and in abolishing the Arabic Department of the Calcutta Mudrussah.

"175. It must not, too, be forgotten that the Mahomedan Community, have naturally enough come to look on the Mudrussah here as a special and permanent Endowment for their education in Arabic learning; that it is known throughout the country as *the* place of education sacred to Mahomedans and reverenced accordingly; and that any sudden and violent overthrow of their cherished and traditional Arabic studies would be greatly resented by the Mahomedan Community generally, and would, it is probable, injuriously react on the Anglo-Persian Department. Whatever may be our ideas of the value of Arabic learning generally, we would strongly urge that human nature should be taken as we find it, and that particularly in such a matter as that under discussion all changes should be gradual and such as will not excite suspicion or distrust, so that we may have the best possible chance of carrying with us the Community whose welfare we have at heart.

"180. To carry out the above changes, of course an additional staff of English, though not of Arabic, masters, will be requisite. To meet this expense, we would suggest that the office of Principal be abolished. The Principal does not teach and is non-resident, and having other and important business to attend to, he cannot spare much time to the Mudrussah. The Arabic Department, for which we believe he principally, if not altogether, exists, could, we consider, be equally well directed and controlled by a competent Head Professor, supervised by the Educational Authorities, who might, we think, receive valuable assistance from a Committee of English and Mahomedan Visitors, the appointment of which we strongly advocate.

"181. Such a Committee, too, would have an excellent effect in giving the most influential Mahomedans of Calcutta and Bengal generally a practical interest and voice in the education of their countrymen. Of course it is not intended that the Visitors should in any way directly interfere in the tuition or the affairs of the College. The masters would be amenable to the higher Educational Authorities, and to them only. The Visitors would merely visit and have the privilege of bringing anything they thought proper to the notice of the Director, or through him, of Government. In a place like Calcutta, and with the Mudrussah so very accessible, we think there would be no difficulty in getting good service from such a Committee.

"198. We have only further to state that we have the best reason for believing that our views generally are in consonance with those of the Mahomedan Community whose interest it is the object of Government to promote; and that the changes above indicated, while costing Government nothing would be received as a very great boon and be very highly appreciated, and would in our opinion, in a very short time, raise the Calcutta Mudrussah to the very first rank among the Educational Institutions of the Country.

"202. Though the subject is not within the scope of our instructions, we think it right to bring to the notice of Government that, from all we hear, we believe the Hooghly Mudrussah, which is conducted in much the same way as the Calcutta Mudrussah, though not paid for by Imperial Funds, equally to stand in need of reform. There is also, we may mention, a very deep and widespread feeling among Mahomedans that the funds derived from the Mohsin Endowment at Hooghly might be much more advantageously expended in the interest of the Mahomedan Community than they are at present. As regards this subject, we have only at present to say that if the Government desire it, we shall be happy to make a further report, after due enquiry, on the Hooghly Mudrussah. Indeed, we may say that any enquiry into Mahomedan Education near Calcutta is incomplete, unless the state of the Hooghly Mudrussah be taken up at the same time.

"203. We may also state, for the information of the Lieutenant-Governor, that the cause of the backwardness of Mahomedan Education in the interior is attributed by many intelligent gentlemen, with whom we have communicated, to the want of Urdoo and Persian teachers at Zillah Schools. The point is one on which we give no opinion, but it seems deserving of attention."

Several other points were touched in this report. The Committee found the cost of the institution to be as follows :—

	Rs.
Principal	... 3,600 a year.
Arabic Department	... 15,036 „
Anglo-Persian Department ...	... 22,230 „
Branch School	... 9,974 „
Total	... 50,840 „

out of which Rs. 4,800 was contributed by fees.

The Arabic Department contained 115 pupils, out of whom 91 came from districts beyond the Berhampooter River. There were 28 scholarships tenable by the scholars of this department. The Anglo-Persian Department contained 300 boys. About 200 of these lads came from Calcutta and the districts* close to Calcutta. This branch of the institution included a college class, at which only two lads attended at the time of Committee's enquiry. The obligatory languages in this branch were Arabic, English, and Persian.

*24 Pergannahs	67
Jessore	15
Hooghly	48
Burdwan	16
Furreedpore	11
Baraset	7

The main features of the Committee's recommendations were that there should be a Standing Committee of Visitors on which influential Mahomedans might serve; that the Arabic Department should be turned into an Anglo-Arabic Department, into which no one should be admitted without passing

an Entrance examination in English and Arabic; that the institution should be thoroughly under the educational authorities and the visitors; that the Principalship should be abolished; that the services of the Arabic Professors should be utilised in the Anglo-Persian Department, and that in this department the lower teachers should be all Mahomedans and not Hindoos; that some of the scholarship-money should be diverted from the Anglo-Arabic to the Anglo-Persian Department; that the college class should be given up, but that special scholarships should be awarded to Madrassah lads who may want to study at the Presidency College for the University course; that rooms for resident students be granted to boys in the Anglo-Persian Department as well as to boys of the Arabic Department. The English Head-master would be head of the Anglo-Persian Department, and the head Professor of the Anglo-Arabic Department would manage that branch of the institution. Regarding the Branch School the Committeé recommended that the educational authorities should have full jurisdiction, so that the school might be looked after and brought into order. All the changes proposed by the Committee were to be carried out without extra cost.

On the Report being laid before Sir William Grey, he made the following observations:—

"It appears to the Lieutenant-Governor that the Committee discharged the duty imposed upon them in a very complete and satisfactory manner, and that they have placed before the Government a clear representation of the existing position of the three Departments in the Mudrussah, establishing conclusively that, as a place of Arabic learning, it has fallen in the estimation of those most interested in its well-being, and that it stands greatly in need of reform. While they have clearly shown that there is much that requires correction in the general arrangements and management of the Institution as a whole, it is in regard to the Arabic Department in particular that their testimony is especially unfavourable, and their comments most condemnatory. The Lieutenant-Governor is satisfied that no person could rise from a perusal of the Committee's representations as regards this branch of the Mudrussah, without a conviction of the necessity of a complete change in its present organisation and system of teaching. It is shown that the course of instruction is neither in accordance with the spirit of the times, nor what is desired by the Mahomedans of the Country; and that existing arrangements are radically imperfect and unsatisfactory in numerous details connected with the grant and tenure of Scholarships, the manner of imparting instruction, the management of examinations, and the general constitution of the professorial and ministerial establishments."

A copy of this Report was then forwarded to the Director of Public Instruction, with a request that he should submit a statement of the measures

he would propose at once to adopt, with a view to give effect to such of the Committee's recommendations as met with his concurrence. Thereupon Mr. Atkinson (then Director of Public Instruction), reported that, "omitting, for the time, all consideration of the details involved in the Committee's proposals, he would accept the general principles of the changes suggested, and as a first step to practical reform, would advise that, in accordance with the Committee's recommendations, the office of Principal, as then constituted, should be at once abolished; that to secure an effective and vigorous control, the general supervision of the Institution should be placed in the hands of the Principal of the Presidency College, who, with the aid of a Consultative Committee, to be appointed by Government, should direct its affairs in all branches in much the same manner and to the same extent as he then controlled the three Departments of the Presidency College and its attached Schools."

Circumstances at the time were particularly favourable for the introduction of such a change, as Colonel Lees was absent in England, and Major St. George, who had been acting for him had just left India on furlough. Sir William Grey accordingly determined not to full up the vacant office of Principal; but adopting the views of the Committee, as supported by the Director of Public Instruction, he gave orders that Mr. Sutcliffe should be placed in charge of the Madrassah as an experimental measure, preparatory to a thorough re-organisation of the Institution with the aid of a Consultative Committee, *as desired by the Mahomedan Community.*

Principal Lees, though absent when the Committee reported wrote a long and strong protest against their report challenging many of the Committee's facts and most of their conclusions and appended to his protest a small volume of printed papers and extracts. On the 28th February 1871, Sir William Grey reported the whole correspondence to the Government of India, approving the Committee's views as supported by the Director of Public Instruction, and declining to go into Principal Lees' protest.

A Committee, composed of the gentlemen named in the margin, was accordingly appointed by Government on the 24th March 1871, for the Management and Supervision of the Calcutta and Hooghly Mudrussahs. And the Director of Public Instruction was requested to carry out, in consultation with this Committee, the reforms and changes in the Calcutta Mudrussah, recommended by the Committee which had been appointed in 1869 to report on the condition of that Institution, and also to perform the same functions in respect of the College of Mahomed Mohsin at Hooghly.

The Hon'ble Justice J. P. Norman.
Mr C. H. Campbell.
Mr J. Sutcliffe.
Mr H L Harrison.
Captain H. S Jarrett.
Prince Mahomed Ruheemooddeen.
Kazi Abdool Baree.
Moulvie Abdool Luteef Khan Bahadoor.
Moonshee Ameer Ali Khan Bahadoor.
Moulvie Abbas Ali Khan.

This Committee first met at the Madrassah on the 5th April 1871, elected the Hon'ble J. P. Norman to be their President, and chose Moulvi Abdul Luteef Khan Bahadur as their Honorary Secretary. The meetings were held twice a week; and on Mr. Campbell's departure to England on furlough on the 22nd April, Haji Zakaria Mahomed was appointed in his place.

In the first instance the Committee proceeded to consider the matters included in the Report of the Commission of 1869; but they were subsequently favoured with the following Minute by Sir George Campbell, dated the 13th April, in which their attention was called to the question of the relative positions of the Calcutta and Hooghly Madrassahs, the standard of education to be given in each of those Institutions, and other points.

Minute by the Lieutenant-Governor on the Calcutta and Hooghly Institutions for the education of the Muhammadans.

The gentlemen who form the Committee appointed for the supervision and management of the affairs of these institutions having been good enough to undertake the task, it is necessary that I should indicate the main points to which I would request their attention. The general principles on which reforms are to be inaugurated have been well stated in the very able report of the Commission which examined the affairs of the Madrasah. But questions radically affecting the whole constitution of these places of education are still pending, and I must ask the Committee to undertake, in the first instance, something more than ordinary management. I hope they will consent to deal with these pending questions, and to inform me of the conclusions, with a view to the decision of this Government and report to the Government of India. They will be the better able to do this, as the members of the former Commission are now among their body. It seems, in the first place, very desirable to determine the relative position of the two institutions. Are they both to carry on the same general course up to the same point, or is one to give a higher education than the other? Is the Calcutta Madrasah to educate only up to the University Entrance Examination, and the Hooghly College to carry on the college course for degrees, or *vice versa*? Is Hooghly to remain a general college with a Muhammadan school attached, or is there to be a separate Muhammadan college? If it were proposed either to transfer to Calcutta from Hooghly the higher education of the Muhammadans, or to raise in any considerable degree the standard of the Calcutta Madrasah, and to appoint a separate Principal, the only possible means of obtaining the necessary funds

would be by transferring a portion of the Hooghly Endowment Funds to Calcutta (if such a step were acceptable to the Muhammadan community), and in that case it would be necessary to consider the course to be pursued in regard to the Hooghly College, now principally supported by the endowment Funds, though it is by no means exclusively devoted to the education of the Muhammadans. These weighty questions being reviewed, and, if possible, settled, it will then remain to consider the constitution and course of study of each institution.

2. The first question in regard to the Calcutta Madrasah is respecting the Principalship. I shall be glad if the Committee will favour me with their opinion on this subject, as well as regarding the whole staff of teachers subordinate to him, the curriculum of education, and the fees to be charged.

3. There seems to be no doubt that a complete Arabic education must be supplied to those who seek it; and in this respect it will be desirable most fully to study the wishes, and even the prejudices, of the Muhammadan community, provided that nothing is taught which is positively injurious or offensive.

4. For all other scholars, care must, I think, be taken not to make too many languages compulsory. A competent knowledge of the vernacular must be required of the younger boys; and it will probably be desired that as they advance, they should have a sufficient knowledge of either the language of their religion, Arabic, or that of their popular literature, Persian; but a free option might, I think, be allowed in this respect. For the rest, in the circumstances of Bengal, and with a special view to giving the Muhammadans a fair share of Government employment and professional opportunities, no doubt the principal attention must be devoted to the acquisition of the English language; and in addition to the language, the more they can have of modern science and useful learning, the better. I should especially hope that attention may be paid to drawing, surveying, and the elements of engineering arts, in which the Indian Muhammadans have generally excelled, and which would especially fit them for public employment, civil as well as professional. The rudiments of popular law, and some knowledge of land-tenures, might also, I think, be taught them with great advantage; but all this and much more the Committee will no doubt consider.

5. It will be an important question to consider what arrangements should be made for the reception of boarders, and how encouragement in the shape of scholarships may best be afforded to more elementary institutions in the rural parts of Bengal, which contain so great a Muhammadan population. It would be useless to discuss details regarding the Hooghly Institution till the general system to be followed is chalked out.

6. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of these institutions. The number of our Muhammadan fellow-subjects under the Government of Bengal has been supposed to exceed all the Muhammadan subjects of the Grand Turk; and their future position in their own country in a very great degree depends on these institutions. I feel under great obligations to all the gentlemen, both European and Native, who have undertaken the task of supervising them; and I am sure that the Muhammadan community will appreciate the interest in their condition which is evinced by the gentlemen holding the highest official positions, who have not shrunk from this difficult duty.

G. CAMPBELL.

The 13th April 1871.

The Committee, after a full consideration of the different points placed before them submitted the following elaborate Report, setting forth the measures which they recommended for adoption in the Calcutta Madrassah in order to carry out the recommendations of the Commission of 1869.

No. 5, Dated Calcutta the 16th June 1871.

From—Moulvie ABDOOL LUTEEF, Khan Bahadoor, Secretary to the Committee for the Supervision and Management of the Calcutta and Hooghly Madrasahs.

To—The Director of Public Instruction, Lower Provinces.

In accordance with the instructions of the Government of Bengal, communicated to you in letter No. 878, dated the 24th March last, I am directed by the Committee to submit the following report of the measures which the Committee consider to be necessary in order to carry out the reforms and changes in the Calcutta and Hooghly Madrasahs recommended by the Committee appointed in July 1869, and embodied in their report dated the 1st of December 1869.

PRESENT:
The Hon'ble J. P. Norman, *President.*
J. Sutcliffe, Esq.
H. L. Harrison, Esq.
Captain H. S. Jarrett.
Prince Muhammad Rahimuddin.
Kazi Abdool Bari.
Moulvie Abdool Luteef, Khan Bahadur.
Munshi Amir Ali, Khan Bahadur.
Moulvie Abbass Ali Khan.
Haji Zakariya Muhammad.

2. The Committee held eleven meetings, the first on the 5th April 1871, at which they elected the Honourable J. P. Norman to be their President, and Moulvie Abdool Luteef to be their Honorary Secretary. The meetings, which were held twice a week, have been regularly attended by all the members of the Committee. Mr. Charles Campbell was present throughout, until his departure from India on leave on the 22nd April.

3. In the first instance the Committee proceeded to consider the matters included in the report of the Committee of 1869, but they were subsequently

favoured with a Minute by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, dated the 13th April, in which their attention was called to the question of the relative positions of the Calcutta and Hooghly Madrasahs, the standard of education to be given in each of those institutions, and other points to which the Committee have given full attention.

4. The arrangements proposed will not involve any increase of expense which will not be covered by the saving effected by the abolition of the offices of Principal and of one of the Munshis.

CALCUTTA MADRASAH.

ARABIC DEPARTMENT.

5. The Committee resolved—

Future designation.

I.—That the Arabic Department of the Calcutta Madrasah be styled "The Anglo-Arabic Department."

Conditions of admission.

II.—That admission may take place at any time and in any class for which the candidate is fit; the preliminary examination being conducted in Arabic, etc., by the Head Professor, and in English by the Head Master.

III.—That before admission can take place into the 8th class, the candidate must possess a slight elementary knowledge of Arabic grammar, also be able to read Persian and to read and write Urdu.

IV.—That candidates for admission be required to obtain a certificate of respectability from some member of the Committee.

V.—That a list of admission be placed before the Committee every month.

Hours of study.

VI.—That the hours of study be from ten o'clock till one, and from half-past one till four, half an hour being allowed for prayer, tiffin and recreation. In the first four classes three hours shall be devoted to Arabic, and two hours and a half to English, etc.; and in the lower four classes, two hours per diem to Arabic, two hours to English, and one hour and a half to Persian, Bengali, etc.

Extent of English studies.

VII.—That the course of instruction in English be laid down by the Director of Public Instruction, and be as far as possible in unison with that of the University Entrance Examination.

Instruction in Arabic grammar in the lower classes.

VIII.—That, as far as possible, Arabic be taught in the lower four classes through the medium of such Persian or Urdu grammars as can be obtained.

Constitution of the Department.

6. The Committee recommend that the Department be divided into eight classes, the maximum and minimum age of entrance for each being as follows:—

Class.	Maximum.	Minimum.
8th	15	13
7th	16	14
6th	17	15
5th	18	
4th	19	
3rd	20	
2nd	21	
1st	22	

Studies in Arabic.

7. The studies of the Anglo-Arabic Department should, for the future, be as follows:—

ARABIC.

GRAMMAR.

1. Jangi Sarf.
2. Fasúl-i-Akbarí.
3. Jangi Naho.
4. Hidáyut-un-Naho.
5. Káfiah.
6. Sharhi Mullá.

LOGIC.

1. Mizán-i-Mantik.
2. Sharhi Tahjjb.
3. Kutbi with Mir.
4. Sullam.

RHETORIC.

1. Mukhtasir-i-Maáni.
2. Mulla.

LAW.

1.—Sharhi Vikayah.

(Only the following.)

I. Book of ablutions.
II. Book of prayers.
III. Book of alms.
IV. Book of fasts.
V. Book of pilgrimage.
VI. Book of marriage.
VII. Book of fosterage.
VIII. Book of divorce.
IX. Book of vows.
X. Book of missing persons.
XI. Book of partnership.
XII. Book of endowment.

2.—Hidáyah.

(Only the following.)

I. Book of sales
II. Book of acknowledgements.
III. Book of gifts.
IV. Book of pre-emption.
V. Book of slaying animals for food.
VI. Book of sacrifice.
VII. Book of abominations.
VIII. Book of prohibited liquors.
IX. Book of wills.

PRINCIPLES OF LAW.

1. Núrul Anwár.
2. Tauzi.
3. Mussullamus-subút.

LITERATURE.

1. Nafhatul Yaman,
2. Al-ajabul Ujáb.
3. Sabai Muallakah.
4. Makámát-i- Hariri.
5. Diwani Mutanabbi.

HISTORY.

1. Tárikhul Khulafá.
2. Shifái Kázi Ayáz.

LAW OF INHERITANCE.

Sharifiah.

PERSIAN.

1. Akhláki Muhsini.
2. Zalikhá.
3. Sikandarnámah.
4. Abul Fazl.

Instruction for Shiahs

8. With reference to the subjects comprised in the course of studies above referred to, the Committee remark that at present there are no *Shiah* students in the Anglo-Arabic Department. Should a sufficient number of Shiah students hereafter present themselves, a class will be formed for the study, under a Shiah Maulvi, of such subjects as may be selected from—

1. Sharái-ul-Islám.
2. Sharhi-Lum'ah.

One hour every day shall be devoted to the study of the above subjects.

Instruction in Bengali and Urdu for the higher classes.

9. The Committee consider that two hours a week should be devoted in the four higher classes to the study of Bengali; at the same time they are of opinion that instruction in that language, and also in Urdu, should be confined to a thorough acquaintance with the vernacular of the country as used in our courts and in commerce, and (particularly by the higher classes) to ability to translate correctly from Bengali or Urdu into English, and *vice versa*.

Lectures on Law.

10. As recommended in 1869, the Committee propose that in the first and second classes lectures be given two hours per week, in such portions of the Penal Code and Civil Criminal Procedure Codes as may be selected by the Committee, in Urdu or Bengali.

Instruction in Bengali for the lower classes.

11. In Bengali, the scheme for the last four classes should be as follows:—

1ST YEAR.

1. Barna Parichay (Parts I and II).
2. Kathá Málá.

2ND YEAR.

1. Bodhodaya.
2. Akhyán Manjari (Part I).

3RD YEAR.

1. Akhyán Manjari (Part II).
2. Charupáth (Part I).
3. Grammar.

4TH YEAR.

1. Sitár Banabás.
2. Charupáth (Part II).
3. Grammar.

Holidays.

12. The holidays should be regulated as proposed by the Committee of 1869, with a slight modification, namely, that the institution be closed on Sunday and open on the morning of Friday, as in the Anglo-Persian Department, but from 6 to 10½ A.M.; that ten days' holiday be allowed at the Muharram; that if holidays clash, the practice alluded to in paragraph 20 of the Report of the Committee of 1869 be disallowed; and that the following be the holidays allowed in the Institution:—

Ramazán	30	days.
I'd-ul-Fitr	3	do.
I'd-uz-Zoha	5	do.
Muharram	10	do.
Akhiree Chahár Shambah.	1	day.
Fátihai Duwázduhum	1	do.
Shab-i-Barát	2	days.
Christmas vacation	7	do.
New year's day	1	day.
Good Friday.	2	days.
Queen's Birthday	1	day.
Summer vacation	15	days.
Total	78	days.

Examinations.

13. The annual examinations should in future be conducted by two Committees (of which the Head Arabic Professor and Head English Teacher should be members, each for his own department), to be named by the Director of Public Instruction; and that the Committees report to the Director as soon as possible after the close of the examination, sending up copies in English of the questions put, and the original answers.

Scholarships.

14. The following is the scheme of scholarships proposed for adoption:—

I. No scholarship shall be tenable for more than one year.

II. In future, when the classes are constituted, the following scholarships shall be awarded in this Department:

1	of	Rs.	4	to	8th	class	tenable in	7th	class.
4	of	,,	4	to	7th	do.	do.	6th	do.
4	of	,,	5	to	6th	do.	do.	5th	do.
5	of	,,	5	to	5th	do.	do.	4th	do.
6	of	,,	6	to	4th	do.	do.	3rd	do.
6	of	,,	8	to	3rd	do.	do.	2nd	do.
6	of	,,	10	to	2nd	do.	do.	1st	do.

III. For the ensuing examination the scholarships shall be distributed as follows:—

2	of	Rs.	5 to 5th class, tenable in 4th class.
4	of	,,	7, 6, 5, and 5 to 4th class, tenable in 3rd class.
5	of	,,	10, 8, 7, 6 and 5 to 3rd class, tenable in 2nd class.
6	of	,,	10, 10, 8, 8, 7 and 7 to 2nd class, tenable in 1st class.
9	of	,,	10 to 1st class, tenable in the advanced class.

IV. After the present year, the total number of marks to be obtained by each class shall be 600, to be distributed as follows:—

FOUR HIGHER CLASSES.

Arabic	300
English	200
Other branches	100
TOTAL ...	600

FOUR LOWER CLASSES.

Arabic	200
English	200
Other branches	200
TOTAL ...	600

Admission of ex-students of the Anglo-Arabic Department into the Anglo-Persian Department.

15. The Committee recommend that any student of the first class, on leaving the department, be permitted as a special case to continue his studies for one or two years in the Anglo-Persian Department.

16. They also recommend that in future, on vacancies occurring in the professorial staff, the Committee be consulted by the Director of Public Instruction prior to any appointment being filled up.

Filling up vacancies.

17. The Committee propose that a small sum be expended, when actually necessary, in the purchase of English school books for really needy pupils.

Purchase of books for poor pupils.

18. It is proposed that for the present, with a view to the introduction of English in the Arabic Department, three English Teachers, on Rs. 100, 50, and 40 per mensem, respectively, be appointed, who should be Muhammadans.

English Teachers in the Arabic Department.

ANGLO-PERSIAN DEPARTMENT.

19. It is the opinion of the Committee that this Department should educate only up to the Entrance standard of the University.

Standard of Instruction.

20. The Committee would make the study of Bengali compulsory in this department, but that in any special case this rule may be dispensed with at the instance of parents or Guardians.

Instruction in Bengali.

21. The Committee further recommend that from the residue of the allowance for scholarships in the Arabic Department, the following scholarships be awarded to the students of the first two classes in the Anglo-Persian Department:

Scholarships

3 of Rs. 4 to 3rd class, tenable in 2nd class for one year.
5 of „ 3 to 2nd do do, in 1st do do.

And, further, that three junior scholarships of Rs. 8 a month, tenable for two years, be awarded annually to students of the Anglo-Persian Department who have passed the Entrance examination, but have not succeeded in gaining Government scholarships, and that the holders of these scholarships be allowed to join any college on the same terms as holders of Government junior scholarships.

22. In the opinion of the Committee, the candidates for admission in this department should also be required to produce a certificate of respectability from some member of the Committee.

Certificate of respectability.

23. The Committee propose that the pupils of the Anglo-Persian Department be eligible for occupying quarters within the Madrasah building, it being understood that between applicants from the Anglo-Persian and Anglo-Arabic Departments preference should be given to the latter.

Quarters for pupils of the Anglo-Persian Department.

Fees.

24. The schooling fees of this department should remain for the present unaltered.

Changes in the establishment.

25. The following changes in the establishment are recommended by the Committee, as rendered necessary by the conclusions arrived at by the Committee of 1869, in regard to the parties concerned:—

That Maulvi Zulfaqár Ali, Head Maulvi of the Anglo-Persian Department, be transferred to the Anglo-Arabic Department, in the place of Maulvi Abd-ul-Hai, the fourth Arabic Professor and that Maulvi Abd-ul-Hai be transferred to the Anglo-Persian Department as Head Maulvi.

That the post of second Maulvi of the Anglo-Persian Department should be held by a teacher having a competent knowledge of English.

And that the Munshi, Maulvi Ghúlám Qadir, be requested to apply for his pension.

GENERAL.

26. The Committee are of opinion that, in view of the existing arrangements for the supervision and management of the Calcutta Madrasah, the office of Principal be abolished, and that the whole of the institution be placed under a competent Head Master of the Anglo-Persian Department, it being understood that the Head Master is not to interfere with the course of instruction by the Arabic Professors within the Anglo-Arabic Department.

27. The Committee have had under consideration whether the present Head Master, Mr. Blochmann, should be retained in his present post. The Committee have agreed to record that they consider that Mr. Blochmann is perfectly competent to teach up to the Entrance examination in the Calcutta Madrasah; that his knowledge of Oriental languages is a qualification which probably gives him a special fitness for the post of Head Master of that institution; and that his pronunciation of English, though defective, is not of such great consequence as imperatively to demand his removal; but he has drawn upon himself the hostility of a portion of the Muhammadan community, by an attack on the Muhammadan Literary Society, and the Committee are disposed to think that the institution would not work smoothly with Mr. Blochmann as Head Master with full executive control.

28. The Committee have resolved that the consideration of the question, whether the services of the resident Munshi shall be retained, be postponed until the intention of the Government respecting the appointment of Head Master or Principal be ascertained, and the new head of the institution has an opportunity of expressing his opinion upon the necessity for continuing the services of a resident Munshi.

29. The Committee propose that rooms for residence in the Madrasah building may, on application made to, and approved by, the Committee, be allotted to Muhammadan students of the General or Engineering Departments of the Presidency College.

30. With reference to the recommendation of the Committee of 1869, contained in paragraph 194 of their report, the Committee have resolved to give notice to Mr. Blochmann that he should be prepared to vacate the apartments which he now occupies in the Madrasah premises by the end of June next.

31. The Committee would dispense with the services of the Sub-Assistant Surgeon attached to the College, reserving, however, for the present, the question of the appointment of a medical officer for the institution.

32. The Committee have resolved that a visiting book should be kept, in which visitors may enter their remarks, to be submitted at least once a month to the Director of Public Instruction.

33. The Committee propose that the distribution of scholarships and prizes take place after due notice given at a public ceremony, and that the best scholars and prizemen be then called on, as far as possible, to exhibit in public the result of their studies.

The Director of Public Instruction in forwarding this Report of the Committee to Government wrote as follows expressing his willingness to give general effect to the detailed scheme for carrying out the proposed changes.

No. 2528, dated Fort William, the 18th July 1871.

From—W. S. ATKINSON, Esq., M.A., Director of Public Instruction.

To—The Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General Department.

WITH reference to your No. 878, dated 24th March, and connected correspondence, on the subject of the Calcutta and Hooghly Madrasahs, I have the honour to forward, for the consideration and orders of the Lieutenant-Governor, a report from the Committee appointed by Government, setting forth the measures they recommend for adoption in order to carry out the recommendations of the Commission of 1869.

2. I have already (in my No. 1362, dated 16th March 1870) accepted generally the changes proposed by that Commission as embodying a practical measure of reform, and with some reservations I am willing now to give effect to the present detailed scheme for carrying out those changes. But at the same time I wish to guard myself from being supposed to adopt them as a complete and satisfactory solution of the important questions that have been so long discussed.

3. I have nothing to object to the constitution of the Anglo-Persian Department as now proposed, which indeed scarcely differs from that which has been long in force; but as regards the Anglo-Arabic Department, I entertain grave doubts of the success of the Committee's scheme. The records show that the plan now proposed for this department is almost identical with one which was tried in former years, and was condemned as a complete failure so long ago as 1853. It is said that the circumstances of the Mahomedan community are so different in 1871 from what they were in 1853, that there is no reason to anticipate a failure now because a similar plan was unsuccessful 18 years ago. No doubt great changes have occurred in this interval, and it is possible that the supporters of the present scheme may be right. Recommended as it is, there is a sufficient reason for trying it; but I think it my duty to point out to the Lieutenant-Governor that the plan of uniting the quasi-professional study of the Muhammadan canon law and Mahomedan logic with an ordinary general school education for boys seems on *a priori* grounds, irrespective of past experience, to introduce difficulties which, if not insuperable, are at least so serious that they cannot be disregarded by any one who has a practical knowledge of educational work. I believe that it would be far better to keep the two separate, as was insisted on by the Council of Education in 1853, and to require from the student a sound preliminary education in the ordinary branches of knowledge before he is allowed to occupy himself with the distinctive religious and social laws of his creed and race, and the mazes of ancient logic and rhetoric studied in a classical language of great complexity and difficulty. In this view I would admit to the Arabic Department those only who have either passed through some of the junior classes of the Anglo-Persian Department, and have reached a certain fixed standard of attainments in the ordinary branches of education there taught, or who not having attended those classes, are yet able to pass an entrance test examination in corresponding subjects, either in their own vernacular or in English at their option.

In this way young men from 16 or 18 years of age would enter on the special studies of the Arabic Department with minds already opened and strengthened by a sound course of ordinary instruction in grammar, arithmetic, elementary mathematics, geography, and history, and might certainly be expected to make more rapid progress in four or five years in the social and theological law of Islam and its system of logic, than in the eight years over which the Committee propose to spread this religious and professional learning in connection with a general course of ordinary school instruction.

I repeat that the course I have pointed out would, in my judgment, be more promising for the real educational advancement of the Mahomedan

community than the course actually proposed; but, for the reason already given, I do not now press for its adoption.

Assuming, then, that the scheme proposed for the Arabic Department is to be tried, I accept the detailed arrangements now recommended for the organization of this Department and the Anglo-Persian Department, subject to such changes as experience may from time to time suggest.

4. In regard to the general control and management of the two Departments, I have already advised that the office of Principal, as heretofore constituted, should be abolished. The present Head Master, Mr. Blochmann, I consider a very valuable and thoroughly trustworthy officer. He possesses in an eminent degree the qualifications most needed in the head of a Mahomedan school, and he has for more than six years performed the duties entrusted to him to my entire satisfaction, being popular alike with the students and teachers of both Departments. I regret that he should have given offence to the Mahomedan Literary Society by his criticism on the course of study for the Madrasah propounded by them two years ago during the discussions which arose on the appointment of the Commission of Inquiry. I know, however, that nothing was further from his intention than to wound the feelings of any one, and I am sure that the Mahomedan gentlemen on the Committee who have thought themselves aggrieved by what he then wrote, will soon learn to value his sterling qualities as a teacher, and to repose their full confidence in him as a thoroughly competent and trustworthy head of the institution which is the object of their care. From my long official knowledge of him, I feel justified in recommending strongly that he be retained in his present appointment, and that he be entrusted hereafter with complete executive control over the whole institution as soon as the new arrangements have been brought into working order. Meanwhile, I propose that Mr. Sutcliffe be requested to retain the general charge of the institution which he has undertaken with so much advantage during the past year.

5. As regards the residence of the Head Master in the Madrasah, I am compelled after much consideration to differ from the conclusion of the Committee. In a school which provides for the accommodation of a large number of boarders, I am of opinion, on general grounds, that the Head Master should always, if possible, have apartments in the school premises; and as regards the Madrasah in particular, I am satisfied that the reasons which induced my predecessor and Sir F. Halliday to order that the Head Master should always reside in the building, are quite as cogent now as they were at the time when they were issued. Until this measure was adopted, repeated disturbances occurred, in which teachers as well as students were frequently implicated, and gross misconduct of a kind which I need

not here describe was believed to be of common occurrence. The presence of the Head Master has had a most beneficial effect in checking these disorders ; and I am unwilling to incur the responsibility of sanctioning his removal now. Two of the apartments at present assigned to him may, however, be resumed for school purposes, if they should be required ; but at present I believe there is ample room in the building for any probable increase of resident students, as will as for the additional class accommodation which the new arrangements will render necessary.

The following is the reply on the subject from the Government of Bengal :

No 2325, dated Fort William, the 5th August 1871.

From—RIVERS THOMPSON, ESQ., *Offg. Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General Department.*

To—The Director of Public Instruction, Lower Provinces.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 2528, dated the 18th ultimo, submitting a report of the measures which the Committee consider to be necessary in order to carry out the reforms and changes in the Calcutta and Hooghly Madrasahs recommended by the Committee appointed in July 1869.

2. I am to say that the measures now proposed by the Committee have the Lieutenant-Governor's approval, and that he wishes to give them a full and fair trial, as coming from a Committee of great weight and experience.

3. Mr. Blochmann is permitted to hold his place in the Madrasah till further orders. He is to be Head Master of the Persian Department, without any power of interference with the course of instruction in the Anglo-Arabic Department, and he is not to be vested with any complete control over the whole institution. This, for the present, is to be exercised by Mr. Sutcliffe as Principal of the Presidency College. The post of Principal of the Madrasah is to be abolished. Mr. Blochmann may remain in the College for the present with such limited accommodation as will suffice for a bachelor only (say a couple of rooms), it being fully understood that accommodation for a family cannot be given and would be inappropriate.

4. With regard to the question of having a resident Moonshee, the Lieutenant-Governor wishes Mr. Sutcliffe to decide, in communication with the Head Master, whether the services of a resident Moonshee in the Calcutta Madrasah are necessary. A report should be submitted on this point by the end of this year.

5. The proposals of the Committee regarding the Hooghly Madrasah may be carried out by you. The Lieutenant-Governor thinks there is much

that recommends itself in your suggestion to make Hooghly the head quarters of Mahomedan theological learning, and the Calcutta Madrasah the great secular school for the liberal education of the Mussulmans of Bengal; but as its entertainment now would postpone everything which the Committee have recommended as regards the two institutions, the proposal must remain a matter for future consideration.

6. In respect to the opinion which you express in the 3rd paragraph of your letter under reply, that it would be better "to require from the student a sound preliminary education in the ordinary branches of knowledge before he is allowed to occupy himself with the distinctive religious and social laws of his creed and race," etc., the Lieutenant-Governor thinks that, with the acquiescence of those chiefly interested in the matter, such a procedure might well be adopted; but, under the circumstances which present themselves, His Honor much prefers to allow the Mahomedans to arrange the Anglo-Arabic Department according to their own views, and it is assumed that the Committee represent their views. The Lieutenant-Governor is quite clear that he would not exclude from Arabic teaching those who have not previously had a good general education according to Western ideas, though it would be well if they could be persuaded, in some degree, to combine some general education with Arabic.

7. In carrying out the reforms you are requested to be so good as to submit, for the Lieutenant-Governor's sanction, a proposition statement of the changes in establishment (professorial and other) which will now be effected and the net financial result of the changes.

8. Moulvie Gholam Kadir should be directed to send in his application for pension, his services being dispensed with from the date of the new organization.

9. I am to request that the thanks of Government may be conveyed to the Committee for their careful investigations and report, and to express the Lieutenant-Governor's hope that their aid may be continued *as a managing and visiting committee.*

S. C. SANIAL.

The Rev. William Adam.

THE first European who was employed by the British Government to enquire into, and report upon, the state of indigenous education in Bengal was the Rev. William Adam. The following particulars of him I have found among manuscripts left by the late Mr. E. S. Wenger in the Serampur College Library, which I publish by the kindness of Dr. George Howells, the Principal of the College.

"He was a native of Dumfermline, and was in his early days a student at St. Andrews. About 1815 he was accepted by the Baptist Missionary Society and sent to Bristol College and in 1816 the Home Committee resolved that he should be permitted to proceed with his studies at Glasgow for one session. On the 25th June 1817 they resolved to send him to Serampore in order to proceed from thence to Surat to join Mr. C. C. Aratoon. On the 25th September following, he and Mr. Stephen Sutton were publicly designated to the service of the Mission at Horsley, when the reasons which had led them to consecrate themselves to the work of the Lord were set forth by them, together with a statement of the doctrines they intended to preach, and they were considered very satisfactory by the audience which was very large and seemed much interested in the proceedings of the evening. Mr. Dyer of Reading preached the Ordination Sermon from Acts 16: 17, after Dr. Ryland had offered the Ordination prayer. In October he embarked for India at Liverpool in the ship *Roscoe* along with Mr. and Mrs. Sutton, and reached Serampore on the 19th March 1818. In January 1819 he married Miss Phoebe Grant, the elder daughter of the late missionary of that name who was elder sister of Mrs. Yates.

"As there seemed to be much uncertainty about the Surat Mission Mr. Adam went to reside at Calcutta after severing his connection with the Serampore missionaries, and there he engaged in studying the Bengali and Sanscrit languages so as to qualify himself for preaching or translating as circumstances might require. He joined the *Junior Brethren* in Calcutta and withdrew from the Lall Bazar Church on the 13th October 1818, and his name is among the four who signed the Appeal for funds for erecting the Circular Road Chapel, the other three being Eustace Carey, John Lawson, and William Yates, his name coming after that of Eustace Carey. When the Calcutta missionaries decided to occupy Dongapore, an important place not far from Calcutta, it was settled that he should take his turn to live there alternately with Mr. Carey and Dr. Yates for half a year at a time. He was a clever and well-read man.

"About this time a respectable Bengali used to visit Mr. Adam, who was none other than Rajah Ram Mohan Roy. For some time he was engaged with the latter and with Dr. Yates in translating the four Gospels into Bengali. The two translations of Dr. Carey and Mr. Ellerton were declared by that gentleman to abound in the most flagrant violations of Native idioms; so he applied to them for their assistance in translating the Gospels afresh from the original, and they readily gave their assistance. When they got as far as the fourth Gospel, difficulty arose with the third verse, where they stuck and the revision was wrecked. At first Dr. Yates agreed to translate it thus: "All things were made through Him," but on reconsideration he discovered in the substitution of the word "through" for "by," a suggestion of Animism, so he withdrew from the enterprise on account of the tendency to heresy which had transpired. This abrupt termination of the enterprise drew him (Mr. Adam) into more frequent and confidential intimacy with the Rajah, with the result that he formally renounced his belief in the doctrine of the Trinity and avowed himself an Unitarian and severed his connection with the Missionary Society shortly after the opening of the Circular Road Chapel. That event took place on the 20th of March 1821 and on the 7th May following he sent a letter to a Mr. N. Wright in America giving details of his severance from the Mission. The question of his exclusion from the Circular Road Church then came up, and on the 26th August he was requested at a Church Meeting to state simply his views relative to the Divinity of Christ, which he did, in plain terms stating that the only begotten of God could not be God. He was then asked to retire from the meeting which he eventually did after objecting several times. Two members were then appointed to wait upon him to express to him the sincere regret and grief of the Church at the declaration he had made of his disbelief of the doctrine of the true and proper Divinity of Jesus Christ, and also their earnest wish that he might re-examine his sentiments with fervent prayer for the assistance of the Holy Spirit to direct him into the truth as it is in Jesus and that pending the receipt of this report he should be suspended from Communion at the Lord's Table. At the Church Meeting of the 25th September the two members gave in their report, and after hearing it, the Church recorded the following Resolution: "That Mr. Adam having expressed sentiments which are entirely opposite "to the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel on which it is established do, "in justice to the glory and character of Christ, and to express its own entire "disapprobation of such sentiments, exclude brother Adam from its commu- "nion and privileges, but with the most sincere desire that he may through "Grace at length perceive his error and return to the Truth, when the Church "will be truly glad to receive him again, as sorry now to exclude him."

"In that very month of September 1821 the Calcutta Unitarian Committee was formed, which included among others, Rajah Ram Mohan Roy, Mr.

N. Kerr, a late missionary, who had joined the Uncovenanted Service, and Mr. Adam. In the Annual London Report of the Missionary Society, dated 20th June 1822, the following statement is made in regard to him: "We mention with deep regret that Mr. Adam, late one of their number (*i.e.*, of the workers in Calcutta), has embraced opinions derogatory to the honour of the Saviour, denying the proper Divinity of 'Our Lord Jesus Christ' in consequence of which the connection between him and the Society has been dissolved." Mr. Adam remained on in Calcutta as Unitarian Missionary, for he is described as such in the *Bengal Directory and Calcutta Kalendar* of 1824, where his address is given as Dhurumtollah Street. He conducted English services in a room in the *Hurkurah* office till Sunday the 3rd. August 1827, after which a room was hired where services were commenced from Wednesday the 20th August 1828 and continued to be held there until the Brahmo Somaj Hall was solemnly set apart for the purpose of public worship on the 23rd. January 1830. It is a remarkable fact that one of the clauses of the Trust Deed of that Hall lays down that there are to be no graven images or sacrifices. Though he did not get on with the Rajah [Ram Mohan Roy] on all points it is a singular thing that the provided for him and his family in his will.

"In 1829 along with Mr. Theodore Dickens and Mr. (afterwards Sir) Thomas Turton two eminent legal men, he helped to draw out the Petition to Parliament of the East India Community, which Mr. J. W. Ricketts took to England that year and laid before both Houses of Parliament. In reward of their services the two advocates were paid 40 gold mohurs each for their advice, and the Committee were gratified when Mr. Adam accepted from them a McCabe gold watch with chain and key, valued at Sicca Rupees six hundred.

"In 1834 Mr. Adam was appointed at the head of a Commission to enquire into the state of Vernacular Education in Bengal, on a salary of Rs. 1000/-a month, and submitted his report in 1835. In that year he was engaged by Lord Macaulay to prepare a digest of his former reports for the Committee of Public Instruction. Regarding these Reports Lord Macaulay noted thus in his Educational Minute:—"His Reports executed in so full and exhaustive a manner, we deem to be the best sketches of the state of vernacular education that have been submitted to the public." In 1837 he was offered the Secretaryship of the Committee of Public Instruction on Rs. 1200/-a month, but he demanded Rs. 1800/- which being refused, he declined the appointment and returned Home. He submitted certain proposals in all these Reports, and in the last one, gave his recommendations, which, however, the Committee did not agree to.

"After leaving India in 1838 he was offered the London Correspondentship of the *Englishman*, which was then under the command of Mr. J. H.

Stocqueler. In 1840 he published a book on *The Law and Custom of Slavery in British India*, through Messrs. Weeks, Jordon & Co. of Boston, U. S: A. In 1841 he brought out in England the famous East India Year Book for 1841, and the same year he was appointed by the British India Society in London to the Editorship of their organ, *The British India Advocate*. In 1863 he published his *Enquiry into the Theories of History*, through Messrs. W. H. Allen & Co. of London.

"He appeared to have lived to an advanced age as Miss Collet in her book about Rajah Ram Mohan Roy states that he wrote a biographical memoir of the Rajah as late as 1879, which would make him over 80 years of age at that time, and it is not known how much longer he lived, or when or where he died, and it would appear that his wife survived him. His widow celebrated her 88 birth day in March 1885 and was still living in February 1887 when a Bengali gentleman called on her in her home near Boston, U.S.A. and spent a very pleasant afternoon with her. She was then in full possession of all her faculties and mentioned many incidents of her early life in Bengal and Sirdhana."

In one of the late Dr. Sambhu Chandra Mookerjee's Note-books of which mention was made in the Secretary's Notes in the last number of this Journal, I have found the following remarks about Mr. William Adam :—

"William Adam was one of the purest and highest minded philanthropists that worked for India. He came out to Bengal as a Protestant Missionary. Coming for wool he went away shorn.* He entered into controversy with Ram Mohan Roy. In trying to convert him he was himself converted. He gave up his profession or at least his church, and subsequently joined the Unitarians whose first missionary in India he became. This was long afterwards. After his secession from his Mission Society he lived by his pen apparently, writing in the papers and editing more than one newspaper during the days of dependence of the Press. Lord William Bentinck appreciating his talents sent him on a mission to enquire into the education of Bengal. He drew up those famous Reports which are the basis of such enquiries. After he joined the American Unitarians he drew public attention to the subject of Slavery in India in a series of letters to Mr. Thomas Fowell Buxton intended to be published in America, but circumstances bringing the author to England in 1840 they appeared in a book form there published by Smith Elder.

"It would seem that in 1839 or early in 1840 Mr. Adam had gone to America. There he was requested by a benevolent institution in Boston to

* "One of the Baptist Missionaries of Serampore (Mr. William Adam) was actually converted by Ram Mohan Roy and is now a Unitarian." *Anglo-India*, Vol. III, p. 238.

deliver a public lecture on some subject connected with India. He thought of presenting a view of slavery in that country, a subject on which he had paid some attention while resident there, but on preparing a memorandum of the materials he possessed he found that they far exceeded the limits of a single discourse. He, therefore, selected another topic and resolved, as leisure might permit, to bring under full review the whole subject of slavery in British India. This he did in the form of Letters to Mr. Thomas Fowell Buxton, his primary object being to co-operate with a society lately established in England called the British India Society.

"In the first *Bengal Annual* edited by David Lester Richardson of 1830 is a contribution from Mr. Adam in the shape of an English translation of a Hebrew MS. called "The Book of Jasher," p. 296. He was not only a man of great learning, but also one of remarkable lucidity of expression and high ratiocinative powers. Withal he was animated by too austere a virtue to don in the world, either of India or England and where he retired. His interest in the fortunes of humanity remained, though he had failed to make his fortune. He remained therefore in England to be the better able to minister to his curiosity. He lived obscurely, not to say, miserably on a very small annuity or pension, connected himself with a small institution where he came daily for society as well as for the benefit of the reading room and library—a small but chosen collection. Here in his old age he worked himself on not his *magnum opus*, but his only book. For besides his voluminous reports on the state of education in Bengal, some occasional little things perhaps, he wrote a series of letters on Slavery in India which were afterwards collected in pamphlet or small bookform. But he had been long meditating on the highest problems of thought, and at last even his modesty ventured to send his message to the world. But still he withheld his name. The work not only appeared anonymously, but also under the humble and almost misleading name of "The Theories of History." He probably met with no little difficulty in getting a publisher to undertake it. At length, however, it appeared from the firm of Allen & Co., the East India publishers of Leadenhall Street. A profound work without an author's name was not likely to arrest the eye of the professional critics, and the author had no friends to pull him up. Here and there in nook and corner as in the Contemporary Literature Section of the *Westminster Review* its worth was recognised.

"Turning over the pages of this book another valuable thought occurs. Seeing the name of William Adam it occurs to me, it never before did, that he was one of our grand benefactors, one of the civilisers of the people of Bengal. It is strange that though I have always entertained the highest regard for a man of probity, varied and deep scholarship and benevolence,

the friend of Ram Mohan Roy and David Hare, of Trevelyan and Bentinck, I never thought of it. I had failed to take his true measure. Perhaps I had not sufficiently cared to measure him, content to respect him. Nor had any body else given that measure. It is curious how suddenly, without previous cogitation, the idea of his greatness flashed through the mind, at the mere sight of the name!

"How does it come to pass that I should come to make this discovery? I believe that Adam's own modesty was on the way of his fame throughout his life, in India as in England. There is some luck in these matters too. Some are more fortunate than others. Some are blessed with zealous friends who do the needful for them. Others are cursed with jealous friends who damn them with faint praise in public and run them down in secret, just hint a fault or hesitate dislike. I suspect another cause. His religion. In those days the odious theologician was fierce, and it was a living social force. To be suspected of heterodoxy was sufficient to blast a man's prospects. Adam's heterodoxy was confessed. And then he still further irritated national jealousy by joining what might well be regarded as an American Communion—Unitarianism. As if to exasperate the proud British he made another change—not backwards to orthodox Christianity, but further onwards in Heterodoxy—to Vedantism. This was the most unkindest cut of all. The Yankee may be a queer creature with duty habits who unceremoniously spits on your best Brussels carpet. But he is a brother for all that—brother Jonathan in fact."

"The Education Commission of Lord Dufferin does justice to Mr. Adam, speaking of his record of his Inquiry as the ablest report ever written in India. That Report certainly educated the rulers if it did not bring forth any other immediate fruit. It had the effect of a revelation. Macaulay was astonished to learn that in Rajshaye the Mussalmans were more numerous than the Hindus. And well he might be, so far back; I cannot persuade my so-called educated, that is, English speaking, Hindu brethren of these Districts of the fact.

"From one of Ram Gopal Ghose's letters contained in Sanyal's *General Biography of Bengal Celebrities* dated 12 August 1838, it would appear that Mr. Adam left India in that year shortly before that date. He went "to America with a view to join his family at Boston, and then go to England where he will probably be settled in London in connection with a press." "I had," continues Ram Gopal, "several interviews with him previous to his departure, and his earnest proposal was that we might set about collecting information which should guide the public and public measures."

"From Ram Gopal Ghose's correspondence it seems that Adam held sound views on the subject of national improvement. He was for the promotion

of vernacular education at a time when it was at a discount after the triumph of the Anglicists headed by Macaulay; without being a partizan of the side of the Shakespeares and the Wilsons and the Prinseps, he was no more a blind advocate of the cause of "English for ever" of the Trevelyans, the D. L. Rs. and the Duffs. He only saw that there was no hope of national regeneration without the medium of a national tongue which the English could not pretend to be in India.

"Mr. Adam was one of the few European philanthropists who befriended us, putting us in the way of progress, at a time when Europeans came here to make as much out of the country and people as they could and leave—as great as David Hare, though unrecognised. He advocated the rights of the natives when the idea of native rights seemed ludicrous. He was the Robert Knight of the Anglo-Indian Press at its commencement. He was the precursor of the good and energetic spirits who have since from time to time endeavoured to set up a permanent machinery in Europe for keeping the world there informed of the true state of the East.

"Mr. H. G. Keene says that Ram Mohan Roy cast [his religious reform] in a form so tinctured with Unitarian Christianity that he was joined by a Missionary, the Rev. W. Adam etc., *Calcutta Review*, No. CXXXVI, April 1879; article—Religion in India—p. 209."

Mr. Adam's connection with the Calcutta Press commenced most probably about 1825 when Mr. James Sutherland averted the suppression of the *Bengal Chronicle* by the Government by avowing the authorship of some offensive articles and engaging to discontinue his connection with the paper. On this condition the *Bengal Chronicle* was permitted to continue, and Mr. Adam succeeded Mr. James Sutherland as editor, but he and the proprietor could not entirely agree, and he withdrew. In January 1827 Mr. Adam started the *Calcutta Chronicle*, and Mr. James Sutherland joined him as co-proprietor and co-editor. The success of the paper surpassed their most sanguine expectations, but on account of some remarks on the question of Calcutta Stamp Act, Lord Combermere suppressed it. On this occasion the following correspondence passed between him and the Government:

TO MR. WILLIAM ADAM AND MR. VILLIERS HOLCROFT.
Proprietors of the Calcutta Chronicle.

General Department:

GENTLEMEN, *Council Chamber, 31st May 1827.*

The general tenor of the contents of the *Calcutta Chronicle* having been for some time past highly disrespectful to the Government and to the

Honourable the Court of Directors, and that paper of the 19th instant in particular comprising several paragraphs in direct violation of the Regulations regarding the press, I am directed to inform you, that the Right Honourable the Vice-President in Council has resolved that the license granted to you on the 25th January last for the printing and publishing of the *Calcutta Chronicle* be cancelled, and it is hereby cancelled accordingly from the present date.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

C. LUSHINGTON,

Chief Secretary to the Government.

CHARLES LUSHINGTON, ESQ.,

Chief Secretary to the Government,

Calcutta, 31st May 1827.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date, informing me that the licence of the *Calcutta Chronicle* is cancelled by the Right Honourable the Vice-President in Council.

As his Lordship in Council has not seen fit to indicate the particular articles or paragraphs that have brought upon me this heavy expression of his displeasure, I am at a loss to know wherein my offence consists, what are the violations of the Press Regulations to which his Lordship refers, or in what respects the general tenor of the paper has been considered as highly disrespectful to the Government, and to the Honourable the Court of Directors.

I beg to call to the recollection of his Lordship in Council, that the rules attached to the Press Regulations are expressly declared to impose no irksome restraints on the publication and discussion of any matters of general interest relating to European or Indian affairs, provided they are conducted with the temper and decorum which the Government has a right to expect from those living under its protection; neither do they preclude individuals from offering, in a temperate and decorous manner, through the channel of the public newspapers or other periodical works, their own views and sentiments relative to matters affecting the interests of the community. With profound deference to his Lordship in Council, I beg to state, that in offering my sentiments relative to matters affecting the interests of the community, I am not conscious of having transgressed the bounds here prescribed.

I beg respectfully to submit, for the consideration of his Lordship in Council, that in every former case of suppression several previous admonitions have been given, whereas in the present case, although I am informed that the general tenor of the contents of the *Calcutta Chronicle* has been considered for some time past highly disrespectful, yet the withdrawal of the licence is sudden and unexpected, and has not been preceded by any authoritative warning, to which it would have been at once my duty, my interest, and my inclination to attend.

Knowing the difficulties and dangers that beset the path of an Indian editor, I was originally induced to allow my name to be sent in to Government in that character with extreme unwillingness, which was vanquished chiefly by the hope of being instrumental in saving from destruction the property of a poor man, vested in a paper that had incurred the displeasure of Government in that case, and subsequently encouraged me to embark property on my own account in a similar concern. I venture to hope that an engagement thus commenced for the benefit of another will not be terminated by the fiat of his Lordship in Council, to my great loss, without any premonition for my guard and guidance.

"I have only to add, that should his Lordship in Council be pleased to extend to me the same consideration which has been bestowed upon others in similar circumstances, it will be my earnest endeavour to avoid whatever may appear likely to be deemed a violation of the Press Regulations.

I have the honour to be,
SIR,
Your obedient servant,
(SD.) W. ADAM,
Sole Proprietor of the *Calcutta Chronicle.*

TO MR. WILLIAM ADAM.

General Department: *Council Chamber, 1st June 1827.*

SIR,

Your letter of yesterday's date having been laid before Government, I am directed to inform you, that the Right Honourable the Vice-President in Council does not think it necessary to make any more specific reference to the objectionable passages contained in the *Calcutta Chronicle* of the 29th ultimo than was done in my communication of yesterday.

2. I am desired to add that the remainder of your letter requires no other reply than that the warnings publicly given to other editors were sufficient for your information, and that Government does not see fit to

accede to your application for permission to continue the publication of the *Calcutta Chronicle.*

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(SD.) C. LUSHINGTON,
Chief Secretary to Government.

In March 1829 the order of the Court of Directors repeating the prohibition of the East India Company's servants connecting themselves in any way with the Indian Press reached Calcutta. For this prohibition Dr. John Grant of the Bengal Medical Establishment was obliged to withdraw his connection with the *India Gazette* as Editor. He was succeeded in the editorship of the paper by Mr. Adam. His management of the paper was thus described by Mr. J. H. Stocqueler, the founder of the Calcutta *Englishman* in the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review of* 1833. Mr. Stocqueler was then editing the Calcutta *John Bull*:—

"From this period (1829) we must date an entire change in the conduct of the journal. From the receptacle of mirth, and the indifferent spectator of local events, the *India Gazette* became the repertory of gravity, and the calm yet scrupulous and honest investigator of every question of interest, present or remote, that could possibly be offered to the consideration of a community growing in extent and intelligence. Its indefatigable conductor dissatisfied with the infrequency of publication which necessarily limited the sphere of his honourable exertions, converted the paper in January 1830, from a bi-weekly into a tri-weekly journal, and in the following November, as the field of discussion widened, he ventured on the bold measure of issuing the journal daily, still publishing the tri-weekly edition for the convenience of those whose means or inclinations induced them to continue to it a preference. The complete success of this proceeding may be deduced from the fact of the circulation of the paper having increased since November 1829 upwards of 200 numbers. According to a statement which appeared in one of the numbers of the *Bengal Hurkaru* for that month, the *India Gazette* circulated 350 copies; it now issues including its daily and tri-weekly editions not less than 568, in the following proportions, which we give, on unquestionable data, in order to show what classes afford the largest share of support to a public journal;—

Civil Subscribers	... 103	Religious Subscribers	... 5
Military „	... 123	Miscellaneous	... 172
Medical „	... 40	Gratis and Exchange copies	... 46
Mercantile „	... 79		
	345		223

"Out of this number, 373 copies are issued daily, and 195 tri-weekly, two thirds of which circulate at the Presidency, and the remainder go into the interior.

"Of the character of the *India Gazette*, standing as we do in the position of competitors with it for public support, it is perhaps difficult for us to speak. With every disposition to be fair and candid in treating of a contemporary whose fairness and candour constitute two of the most brilliant features in his editorial character we may still be unconsciously seduced into detraction, or from the very fear of displaying that infirmity, indulge in extravagance of econium. It is human nature.

"We shall not therefore usurp the public province in this particular, but content ourselves with recording as matter for history, and as evidence of the political and literary taste of the Anglo-Bengal Community that the *India Gazette* is ultra-radical in its politics,—that it enters largely upon the consideration of questions connected with the Government of the country, underterred by any fear of the displeasure of authority, or any anxiety for the applause of the multitude,—that its literary taste is severe, its sources of intelligence numerous, and its mechanical "getting up" not inferior to the most respectable London journals."

Towards the end of 1833 Messrs. Mackintosh and Company, the Proprietors of the *India Gazette* collapsed owing to general financial crash, and they were obliged to sell the paper to Dwarkanath Tagore; then one of the Proprietors of the *Bengal Harkaru*. The daily edition of the *India Gazette* was amalgamated with the *Bengal Harkaru*, but its tri-weekly edition was continued under Mr. Adam's management during 1834. In the beginning of 1835 Mr. Adam was appointed by Lord William Bentinck Commissioner to report on the Vernacular Education in Bengal.

The origin of Mr. Adam's famous Reports on the Vernacular Education in Bengal is fully told in his following memorable correspondence with Lord William Bentinck :—

From W. ADAM, ESQUIRE, to the RIGHT HON'BLE LORD WILLIAM CAVENDISH BENTINCK, K.C.B., G.C.H., *Governor-General of India*, dated Calcutta, the 20th January, 1835.

MY LORD,—At your Lordship's request, I have the honour to address you in writing on the subject to which my recent personal communications with your Lordship have had principal reference. Having submitted a proposal to institute an investigation into the actual state of education in this country, with a view to ulterior measures for its extension and improvement and the object of that proposal being approved by your Lordship, I have been instructed to describe the mode in which the plan might be carried into

effect, and to furnish an estimate of the monthly expense that would thereby be incurred. A brief reference to the considerations that recommend the design is requisite to render those details intelligible.

2. It is assumed that Government is desirous of encouraging education amongst all classes of its subjects, whether Christians, Mahomedans, or Hindoos, as a means of improving their condition by a better knowledge of the arts of life that minister to human wants; of purifying and elevating their character by moral and intellectual instruction; and of qualifying them at once to appreciate the benevolent intentions and salutary measures of Government, and to give to those measures the moral force derived from the support of an intelligent and instructed population. Without this moral force, which education only can create, Government, however benevolently administered, is but the will of the strongest which finds no response where physical power does not reach, and legislation, however wisely devised, is but a dead letter, which reposes in the statute book, is barely enforced in the Courts, and out of them is inert and unknown.

3. Such being the understood objects of Government in promoting education in this country, the question arises—"What are the best means to be employed for that purpose?" Without disputing any of the answers that have been or may be returned to this question, I have ventured to suggest that a preliminary inquiry without which every scheme must want a foundation to rest upon is—"What is the actual state of education amongst the various classes into which the population of the country is divided"? When the population of a country is homogeneous, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, and having common interests, such an investigation might be the less necessary; but where the more instructed portion of the population is separated from the less instructed portion by difference of language, as in Scotland, by difference of language and religion, as in Ireland; and by the further difference, as in India, caused by the relative position of foreigners and natives, conquerors and conquered, it is indispensable. In such cases it is only by a careful attempt to map the moral and intellectual condition of a people that we can understand either the extent of their knowledge or of their ignorance, discover either what they possess or what they need, and adapt the means employed to the end we desire to accomplish. In a recent investigation into the state of education in the Highlands of Scotland, it was proved that thousands could not read, natives of a country where it had been proudly boasted that all were educated. A similar investigation into the state of education in India may perhaps show, not that the people are less but that they are more, instructed than we suppose, and that they have institutions among them both for the purposes of common education and for the propagation or rather preservation of the learning they possess. The institutions to which I refer will probably be

found defective in their organization, narrow and contracted in their aim, and destitute of any principle of extension and improvement; but of their existence the large body of literature in the country, the large body of learned men who hand it down from age to age and the large proportion of the population that can read and write, are proofs. Of course, I do not mean to intimate that their existence has been hitherto unknown, but that their number, their efficiency, their resources and the possibility of employing them as auxiliaries in the promotion of education have not been sufficiently considered.

4. To whatever extent such institutions may exist, and in whatever condition they may be found, stationary, advancing, or retrograding, they present the only true and sure foundations on which any scheme of general or national education can be established. We may deepen and extend the foundations, we may improve, enlarge and beautify the superstructure, but these *are* the foundations on which the building should be raised. All men, particularly uninstructed and half-instructed men, attach the same importance to forms as to substance, and as forms are merely conventional, it is desirable in the work of reform to disembarrass ourselves of opposition founded on the overthrow of ancient forms, and to enlist on our side the prepossessions in favour of their continued use. Besides, there is a probability that those forms, if not at the period of their original adoption, yet by long continued usage are suited to the manners, habits, and general character of the people whom we desire to benefit and that any other forms which we might seek to establish would in reality be less fitted to supply their place. All schemes for the improvement of education, therefore, to be efficient and permanent, should be based upon the existing institutions of the country, transmitted from time immemorial, familiar to the conceptions of the people, and inspiring them with respect and veneration. To labour successfully *for* them, we must labour *with* them; and to labour successfully *with them* we must get them to labour willingly and intelligently *with* us. We must make them, in short, the instruments of their own improvement; and how can this be done but by identifying ourselves and our improvements with them and their institutions? To do this we must first ascertain what those institutions are, their actual condition, and every circumstance connected with them that can be made to contribute to the object in view. To make this important preliminary inquiry is the service for which I have offered myself to your Lordship.

5. In obedience to your Lordship's orders, I have now to state the manner in which I would propose that this service should be performed. There are two descriptions of places with regard to which a somewhat different mode of investigation will be necessary, viz., first, principal towns

or seats of learning, as Calcutta, Nuddea, Dacca, Moorshedabad; secondly districts, as Jessore, Midnapore and Purneah.

6. With regard to the former—Taking up my residence at one of the principal towns or seats of learning, I would, with the aid of my Pundit and Moulavee and by friendly communication with the respectable inhabitants and learned men of the place, make an enumeration or list of the various institutions for the promotion of education; classify them according to the denominations of which they may consist, whether Hindoos, Mahomedans, or Christians; public, private, charitable; examine each institution of each class with the consent of the parties concerned, and make a memorandum on the spot of the number of the pupils; the nature and extent of the course of instruction in science and learning, the resources of the institution, whether public or private; if public, whether they appear to be efficiently and legitimately applied, the estimation in which the institution is held by the community to which it belongs, and the possibility or means of raising the character and enlarging the usefulness of any single institution, or of a whole class. Having exhausted the institutions of one class, I would proceed to another, and from that to a third, repeating the same process in each, until I had obtained a complete knowledge of the state of education in the whole town and neighbourhood. The memoranda thus taken down on the spot and at the instant, the fruits of personal knowledge and direct observation, would supply the materials from which a full and methodical report would be furnished to Government.

7. A somewhat different mode must be employed in investigating the state of education in a district where common schools and schools of learning are indiscriminately scattered over a large surface. In that case, fixing my principal residence at the head station of the zillah, I would diverge from it in all directions to the extreme bounds of the district, passing one, two, three, or more days at one place, according as objects of investigation of the kind connected with my immediate duty presented themselves, entering freely into communication with parents, teachers, and pundits on that subject, examining schools, both common and learned, and, as in the former case, making my memoranda at the time for future guidance in preparing a report. After having completed the range of one district, I would proceed to another, until I had in this manner gone over the whole country assigned to my investigation.

8. The number and frequency of my reports must depend upon the greater or less abundance of the materials with which observation and inquiry may supply me. I should commence my labours with the purpose of furnishing a separate report on the state of education in each principal town and in each district as soon as it has been examined, for there may be

circumstances connected with the state of education in the town or district demanding early attention either for the purpose of remedying what is evil, or encouraging what is good. It is also possible, however, that one district may be so entirely a picture of another, with reference to this particular subject, that a separate report for each will be unnecessary. When I shall have gone the tour of a province, as of Bengal, Behar, Allahabad, or Agra, it would seem proper that I should then furnish a general report, condensing the details of the previous district reports, confirming and amplifying or qualifying and correcting the statements and opinions they contain by the results of more comprehensive observation, and drawing those general conclusions which can be safely grounded only on an extensive induction of particulars. A general report upon school books and books of instruction, or a separate report upon those in each language, distinguishing those that are most useful, pointing out when labour and money have been misapplied, to prevent a recurrence of the same evil, and indicating the department of knowledge in which chiefly defects remain to be supplied, is also a *desideratum*.

9. It will be for your Lordship to determine the limits as to space and time within which this investigation is to be conducted. It may either be limited to the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and the two districts of Midnapore and Cuttack in Orissa subject to the Presidency of Fort William, or, according to the pleasure of your Lordship and the Home Authorities it may be extended to the provinces subject to the Presidency of Agra. The moral and intellectual condition of the latter is less fully and less accurately known than even that of the former. If experience shall show that the information collected regarding the Bengal and Agra Presidencies is useful, the enquiry might be extended to the other Presidencies. With regard to time, I have no other *data* to guide me than those which are afforded by the fact that Dr. Francis Buchanan was appointed by the Government of the Marquis Wellesley to investigate the agricultural and commercial statistics of the provinces then subject to the Presidency of Fort William, and that, according to my information, he employed the years 1805, 1806, and 1807 in his researches. Considering the necessity and importance of care in authenticating, and deliberation in reporting, facts on the subject of education in this country; the difficulties which may be reckoned on in every new attempt; and the impossibility of travelling during the height of the rains in the plains of Bengal; I do not anticipate that less time will be occupied in my inquiries, if they are directed to be extended over the same space.

10. I have next to furnish an estimate of the expense that will be incurred in carrying this design into effect. Since your Lordship has required me to include in this estimate the sum requisite for my personal

remuneration, which I should have gladly left entirely to your Lordship's decision, I trust my suggestion on this head will be viewed with indulgence. I do not offer to engage in this undertaking merely for the sake of a livelihood, but support and provision for my family is one of the objects to which it is my duty to look, and when I mention to your Lordship that for the last six years I have had a net salary of Rupees 700 per month, for the discharge of what certainly were laborious but quiet and sedentary duties, your Lordship will probably not think me unreasonable if I propose the same monthly sum as my personal remuneration for duties still more laborious, since they will exact both much bodily toil and considerable mental activity. If your Lordship, considering the importance of the duties to be discharged, and the responsibility of the agent to be employed, that I am offering to the use of Government the knowledge and experience of mature age and the results of 17 years' residence and studies in India, that I shall devote my undivided attention to the duty with which I may be charged—and that I ask and expect no pension and have no other resource whatever; if, considering these things, your Lordship should think the sum I have mentioned too low for my personal remuneration, I shall be thankful for any addition which your Lordship may deem proper.

11. The other principal items in the estimate consist of the establishment I must maintain and my travelling expenses. Finding it difficult to fix these in my own case, I sought to ascertain from the Civil Auditor's Office the amount of Dr. Buchanan's allowances, and I have learned that a sum of 440 Sicca Rupees was allowed him for establishment alone. This for me is unnecessarily large, and I have reduced it to the following scale:—

One Maulavi ...	...	...	Sa. Rupees 60
One learned Brahmun	...	...	,, 50
One Writer or Copyist	...	...	,, 40
One Duftry at 8, Stationery 32		...	,, 40
Two Hurkarus, at 6	...	...	,, 12
Two Burkundazes, at 8	...	...	,, 16
		Total Sa. Rupees	218

I have not ascertained what were Dr. Buchanan's travelling expenses, but it is probable that they were included in his personal allowance, which was Sicca Rupees 1,500 per month. Estimating my travelling expenses separately, and including under that item boat hire, palkee and palkee-bearers, tent and khalasees, extra pay to personal servants, and small presents for the encouragement of deserving teachers and students, I do not suppose that the whole can be less than 200 Rupees per month. I should apprehend that my travelling expenses during eight or nine months of the

year will rather exceed than fall short of that sum; but on the other hand, although I shall be frequently, I shall not be always, on the move, and the saving at one time will balance the deficit at another. In regard both to establishment and travelling expenses, I avow that I write in considerable uncertainty of what is really necessary for the efficient performance of the service, and it is quite as probable that in some respects I may have overrated as in others that I have underrated the expense; but I trust your Lordship will be satisfied that, upon the whole, I have kept within moderate limits. According to this estimate the total monthly expense, consisting of personal allowance, establishment, and travelling expenses, will be Sicca Rupees 1,118 per month. I submit the whole to the correction which your Lordship's better information may supply, and have the honor to be your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant.

W. ADAM.

P. S.—Since writing paragraph 9, I have had reason to believe that there is some mistake in the particular years assigned to Dr. Buchanan's survey, which did not end but commenced in 1807.

W. A.

MINUTE BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

Dated Calcutta, the 20th January, 1835.

As it now seems an universally admitted axiom that education and the knowledge to be imparted by it can alone effect the moral regeneration of India, nothing need be said in support of this principle. Nor will it be necessary here to advert to the various questions connected with education, which at present occupy the public mind, as to the particular languages to be cultivated, and to be adopted in the transaction of public business, or upon the various other subjects connected with public instruction, because all these questions will, I presume, at a very early period, come before Council from the General Education Committee.

But there is one very material fact still wanting to be known, the actual state of Native education, that is, of that which is carried on, as it probably has been for centuries, entirely under Native management. This information, which Government ought at any rate to possess, regards a most important part of the statistics of India. A true estimate of the Native mind and capacity cannot well be formed without it. But at this time, when the establishment of education upon the largest and most useful basis is become the object of universal solicitude, it is essential to ascertain, in the first instance the number and descriptions of the Schools and Colleges in the Mofussil; the extent to which instruction is carried; the knowledge and sciences taught in them; the means by which they are supported, with all the particulars relating to their original foundation; and their past and

present prosperity. The same enquiry will point out the dreary space, if any, where the human mind is abandoned to entire neglect. I think it very likely that the interference of Government with education, as with most of the other Native Institutions with which we have too often so mischievously meddled, might do much more harm than good. Still it behoves us to have the whole case before us, because it is possible that the aid of Government, if interference be carefully excluded, might be very usefully applied, and very gratefully received, and a still more important end might be attainable, of making their institutions subsidiary and conducive to any improved general system, which it may be hereafter thought proper to establish.

While writing this paper, there has passed, in circulation, a letter from the Government of Fort St. George, transmitting a report from the Board of Public Instruction at that Presidency, upon the present state of the Government Schools.

I collect from this document, that in 1823 there existed in the Madras Territories no less than 12,498 institutions for education, supported partly by the endowment of Native Princes, but chiefly by the voluntary contributions of the people. In addition to these, the Government of Madras have established 14 Collectorate and 67 Tehsildaree Schools. The annual expense is stated to be Rupees 24,920. I do not know when the Government introduced this measure; but if it took place in 1823, as I conjecture, a sum, amounting to between twenty and thirty thousand pounds, seems to have been very needlessly expended.

The report describes these Government Schools to have been a failure, owing, in great measure, to the inefficiency of the teachers, in consequence of their being badly paid and badly selected; to the want of a due superintendence on the part of the local functionaries, under whom they were placed; and, as is said in paragraph 10, to errors in their original formation. A reform is proposed, in which will be found many judicious suggestions, the principal of which and one the best entitled to attention is the improving and strengthening the Central Presidency Institution. With respect to the Collectorate and Tehsildaree Schools, it appears to me that more has been attempted than was practicable, and that it would have been much better to have established a few good institutions, with well-appointed teachers of every kind, confined perhaps to the six* great divisions into which the Madras Presidency is formed, where instruction of a superior order might have been obtained, and to which Natives of all ranks and classes would have gladly had recourse, as in the case of the Hindoo College, for the higher education which is there afforded.

* Presidency, Southern Division, Mysore, Oude [*sic*] Districts Northern Circars, Masulipatam.

From these would have naturally gone forth Teachers of the best kinds in all languages and sciences, and, without any further effort on the part of the Government, true knowledge must have gradually made its way.

It is not my intention to make any proposition in relation to this Report, because it will be, of course, transmitted to the General Education Committee for their remarks and suggestions.

Upon the expediency of possessing the existing state of instruction throughout our territories, there cannot, I think, be a doubt; and the point for consideration seems to be as to the mode of obtaining it, whether by calling upon the local functionaries for a report of all institutions within their districts, or to employ, as in England, a special deputation for the purpose. The first mode would be attended with no expense, but we could not expect from it that fullness of information and accuracy of detail which could lead to any safe conclusion or practical result.

Nothing but a close insight into these institutions, and an enquiry into the feelings of the people themselves, which cannot be made directly by official authority with any prospect of success, and without exciting distrust, could elicit the information and all the data requisite for any future measure. The importance of the subject would well deserve the exclusive time and attention of a commission composed of the ablest of our servants; but neither men nor money adequate to the purpose could at this moment be conveniently spared.

I am of opinion, however, that by a deputation can the object be alone accomplished. There happens to be an individual, peculiarly qualified for this undertaking, MR. ADAM. This gentleman came to India seventeen years ago as a Missionary, and has latterly been the Editor of the *India Gazette*. With considerable ability he possesses great industry and a high character for integrity. His knowledge of the languages, and his habits of intercourse with the Natives, give him peculiar advantages for such an enquiry. The paper which he drew up at my request will better show than anything I can say the correct views with which he is disposed to undertake such a commission, and the remuneration he proposes appears within reasonable limits. His report upon any one zillah or section of the territory would enable the Government at once to determine whether the task was well executed, and the information obtained worth the charge incurred for it. I should think that two or perhaps three years would more than complete the enquiry, because, the net-work of the institutions of one or more zillahs being ascertained, it is probable that there would be found so much similarity in the general outline as not to make necessary a particular enquiry into the details of every zillah, and the Commissioner, being always in communication with the local Officers, need after a period confine his examination to those institutions which might be remarkable for some peculiar distinction.

If the Council agree in this recommendation, I would propose that MR. W. ADAM be selected for this duty, with a consolidated allowance of Rupees 1,000 for all expenses, with the exception of travelling charges, for which he should make a separate bill upon honor.

W. BENTINCK.

I concur entirely in the above proposition.

H. BLUNT.
A. ROSS.
W. MORISON.

In 1862 Mr. Henry Woodrow, one of the ablest Directors of Public Instruction of Bengal, published *Macaulay's Minutes on Education in India written in the years 1835, 1836 and 1837.* I quote the following from pages 7 to 10 of the same which contain Macaulay's remarks on Mr. Adam's Report. Macaulay was then President of the General Committee of Public Instruction:—

"Mr. Macaulay formally gives his assent to the amended instructions issued to Mr. Adam, who was appointed by the Supreme Government to report on the state of Vernacular Education in Bengal. More than a quarter of a century has elapsed since Mr. Adam was instructed to prepare his reports, which he executed in so full and exhaustive a manner that they continue to be the best sketches of the state of Vernacular Education that have been submitted to the public.

"On the 24th March, 1835, Macaulay writes:—

"I agree with Mr. Sutherland* in thinking that Mr. Adam cannot at present be more usefully employed than in digesting such information on the subject of Native Education, as may be contained in reports formerly made." (Book† E. page 99.)

"Mr. Adam in his third Report, p. 2, when reviewing the progress of his enquiry, says, "My appointment by the Governor General in Council is dated 22nd January, 1835, placing me under the orders of the General Committee of Public Instruction, whose instructions I received dated 7th March. On the 8th of April, I obtained the authority of the Committee before proceeding into the interior of the country, to report the amount of information in existing publications and official documents on the subject of Native Education in Bengal, and such a report was accordingly submitted to the Committee on the 1st of July following and afterwards printed by order

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* Mr. James Charles Colebrooke Sutherland was then Secretary to the General Committee of Public Instruction.

† The business of the General Committee of Public Instruction was chiefly conducted by minute-books when Macaulay was its President.

of Government." On this first Report of Mr. Adam, Macaulay writes as follows:—

"Though Mr. Adam has been directed to correspond with the General Committee, I do not conceive that it was the intention of the Government of India to throw on our funds any part of the expense of his inquiries. The printing of any reports which he may make, the cost of collecting any works which may illustrate the state of the vernacular literature, are matters quite extrinsic to the purposes to which our funds are devoted. Of course the Government which has ordered him to report, will give the necessary orders about his report. We have only to transmit it to the Secretary in the General Department with our opinion of its merits. I have not time at present to inspect it. But I have no doubt from what I know of Mr. Adam, that it deserves the eulogy of the Secretary."—(Book E. page 128.) 13th July 1835.

"*Second Report of Mr. Adam.*—We are much indebted to Mr. Sutherland for his excellent abstract of Mr. Adam's Report, which those gentlemen who have not time to go through the original will find very useful.

"I am surprised to see that in the district (Rajshahi) to which the report refers, a great majority of the people are Mahomedans. Surely this is an exception to the general state of things in Bengal. If so, it would seem desirable that Mr. Adam should next explore some district in which the Hindoo population decidedly predominates. But on this question I submit my judgment to that of gentlemen who possess more local experience.

"The report is excellent, and does great credit to Mr. Adam. I approve of all Mr. Sutherland's propositions except the last. Every grant of money ought, in my opinion, to be postponed, until we know precisely the amount of the sum at our disposal. If we cannot afford 50 Rs a month for the school at Subathoo, we certainly cannot afford 100 Rupees a month for that at Bauleah.—(Book J. page 47.) 7th January, 1836.

"*Mr. Adam's Second Report. Macaulay's plan for promoting Vernacular Education.*—I have read with much interest Mr. Shakespear's* minute on Mr. Adam's valuable Report. I am a little inclined to doubt, however, whether we are at present ripe for any extensive practical measures which he recommends.

"I do not see how we can either make the present teachers of elementary knowledge more competent, or supply their place as yet with fitter men. The evil is one which time only can remedy. Our schools are nurseries of School-masters for the next generation.

* The Hon'ble Henry Shakespear was then a Member of the General Committee of Public Instruction. He was succeeded by Macaulay as President of the General Committee of Public Instruction in December 1834.

"If we can raise up a class of educated Bengalees, they will naturally, and without any violent change, displace by degrees the present incompetent teachers. As to educating the School-masters who are already established, I quite agree with Mr. Shakespear in thinking that plan chimerical. As to sending others, at present we cannot do it if we would. I doubt whether we have the men, and I am sure that we have not the money.

"What Mr. Shakespear recommends as to books I highly approve. But as to stipends I cannot agree with him. But I will not argue that question till some distinct proposition is made.

"I would adopt Mr. Shakespear's proposition about the Madrasa at Kusba Bagha. As to the endowments mentioned in the report, pages 43, 45, I do not think that it would be worth while to take any step respecting them. There is something so extravagantly absurd in hereditary professorships that we ought not to express any wish to have them revived. Of course if a man has a legal right to a professorship by inheritance, he ought to obtain it. But that is no business of ours. We can interfere only as a board of public instruction, and for purposes of public instruction, such professorships are evidently useless.

"I am a little amused to observe that Mr. Adam who, in page 45, laments the discontinuance of four of these endowments and says that the revival of them would give "an important impulse to learning in the district," tells us in page 42 that two of these endowments are still continued. And what is "the impulse which they give to learning?" "The present holders" says he "are both mere grammarians, in no way distinguished among their brethren for talents and acquirements. It may be inferred that the endowments were made for the encouragement of learning only from the fact that the learned teachers are the incumbents."

"Here are six endowments of the same sort. Two are continued, and Mr. Adam acknowledges that they are mere jobs. But if the other four were revived, an immense impulse would be given to learning. I am forced to say that I do not very clearly see how Mr. Adam has arrived at this conclusion."

S. C. SANIAL.

The Secretary's Notes.

WITH the present number, volume eight of *Bengal Past & Present* is completed. Indexes to volumes seven and eight are in preparation and will be supplied to the members of the Calcutta Historical Society and other subscribers of the journal at an early date.

Among the literary remains of Dr. Sambhu Chandra Mookerjee, I have found the following letters of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee—the greatest Bengali writer and novelist of the present times—addressed to Dr. Mookerjee. They afford, perhaps, the best material for the psychological study of the man of genius of Bengal, and their peculiar interest lies in the fact that they were addressed to a kindred spirit like him. Just as in the domain of Bengali literature and language Bankim Chandra exercised a sovereign influence, so in the sphere of Anglo-Native literature Dr. Mookerjee had a paramount voice. In these letters the great Bengalee remarkably shows himself.

BERHAMPORE,
The 14th March, [*1872*].

MY DEAR SIR,

I am very happy to acknowledge your favour of the 11th. You are mistaken in considering me a stranger; I claim the honor of being acquainted with you; we have met more than once.

I scarcely know how to thank you for the many fine things you are kind enough to say of me. But as I know that my obligations to you in this respect are of long standing, I will not seek to diminish their weight by a tardy return of thanks.

I wish you every success in your project.* I have myself projected a Bengali Magazine† with the object of making it the medium of communication and sympathy between the educated and the uneducated classes. You rightly say that the English for good or for evil has become our vernacular;

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* In 1872 Dr. Sambhu Chandra Mookerjee revived his *Mookerjee's Magazine* and asked Bankim Chandra to help him with contributions. The first series of *Mookerjee's Magazine* contained only five numbers and were published from January to May 1861.

† The celebrated *Banga Darshana* whose appearance in 1872 marked an epoch in the history of Bengali literature. Its effect was like that of the *Edinburgh Review*. The learning of the new journal, its talent, its spirit, its writing were all new.

and this tends daily to widen the gulf between the higher and the lower ranks of Bengali Society. This I think is not exactly what it ought to be; I think that we ought *to disanglicise* ourselves, so to speak, to a certain extent, and to speak to the masses in the language which they understand. I therefore project a Bengali Magazine. But this is only half the work we have to do. No purely vernacular organ can completely represent the Bengali culture of the day. Just as we ought to address ourselves to the masses of our own race and country, we have also to make ourselves intelligible to the other Indian races, and to the governing race. There is no hope for India until the Bengali and the Panjabi understand and influence each other, and can bring their joint influence to bear upon the Englishman. This can be done only through the medium of the English, and I gladly welcome your projected periodical. But I have thought it necessary to give you my ideas on the subject of an Anglo-Bengali literature at length, because you will find me singing to a different tune on other occasions, on the principle that each side of a question must be put in its strongest light, specially when we have to fight against a popular one.

After this, I need not tell you that I shall not want in inclination to co-operate with you, and if my literary services are worth enlisting on your side, they are at your disposal. It is true I am likely to be a little over-worked at present, owing, not to my literary engagements, but to a reduction in the number of officers at our Station, but I will nevertheless make time both for your Magazine and mine. And if it be worthwhile to insert my name in your list of contributors I have no objection to your doing so.

Hoping this will find you all serene, I am,

MY DEAR SIR,

Yours truly

BANKIM CH. CHATTERJI.

BERHAMPORE,

March 27-72.

MY DEAR SIR,

Many thanks for you kind offer of assistance in regard to my journal. Such a co-adjutor as yourself would be invaluable, and if men like you took an interest in it, there can be no doubt that I shall succeed.

For the English Magazine, I can undertake to supply you with novels, tales, sketches and squibs. I can also take up political questions, as you wish. Malicious fortune has made me a sort of jack of all trades and I can turn up any kind of work, from transcendental metaphysics to verse-making.

The quality of course you can't expect to be superior, but I will do all I can for you. The Novel is to me the most difficult work of all, as it requires a good deal of time and undivided attention to elaborate the conception and to subordinate the incidents and characters to the central idea.

I do not approve of Tara Prasad's* suggestion that the Magazine† should be a quarterly. I prefer monthly publication.

I don't think of going to Calcutta till the rains, or till at least it is a little cooler and Railway travelling becomes possible. When I do go however I will make it a point to call upon you.

Hoping this will find you all serene, I am

Yours truly,

BANKIM CH. CHATTERJI.

BERHAMPORE,

May 13-72.

MY DEAR SHAMBHU,

I don't see why we should "Babu" each other. Pray, call me plain Bankim in future.

Many thanks for your kind opinion of my periodical. I was rather disappointed to find that the *Patriot*‡ contained no review of it, specially as I had requested my publisher to send out presentation copies to no Editors except yourself. My publisher§ has not I find strictly acted up to my wishes.

My pot-bellied reviewer‖ comes out strong under the disguise of an anonymous correspondent—as he did on previous occasions when he had to review my books. On this occasion however it is possible that the writer is a genuine correspondent, for the review has very much the appearance of having been written by some lad who has yet his Entrance Examination test to pass. You will hardly find it worthy of being replied to in the columns of the *Patriot*, but nevertheless I have asked my publisher to send you the

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* Babu Tara Prosad Chatterjee was one of Bankim Chandra's collaborateurs of the *Banga Darshana*. He was an able writer both in English and Bengalee and was a reputed member of the Provincial Executive Service.

† *Mookerjee's Magazine* (second series) was neither monthly nor quarterly. Only ten numbers used to appear in a year. It was stopped by the end of 1876, when Dr. Mookerjee was called away by His Highness the Maharaja Bir Chandra Deb Manickya Bahadur of Independent Tipperah to be his Minister-Associate.

‡ The *Hindu Patriot*. Dr. Sambhu Chandra Mookerjee was about this time a very frequent contributor of the *Hindu Patriot*, and most of the reviews which appeared in the paper about this time were written by him. Babu Kristo Das Pal was then the responsible editor of the paper.

§ Babu Brajamadhab Basu, a Native Christian, who had a press at 1 Peepulputty Lane, Bhowanipur, Calcutta. He printed and published the *Banga Darshana* for the first year.

‖ Most probably Pandit Dwarka Nath Vidyabhusan, the famous editor of the weekly Bengali newspaper, *Somprakash*.

paper, if only to enable you to teach the Editor a lecture on the impropriety of admitting silly communications which disgrace journalism.

You can hardly catch me tripping in the matter of that treacle of mine against Anglicism. I was prudent enough to make a salvo in the case of people who take up your ground. I have carefully distinguished between the case of those who speak to India at large and the ruling Caste and that of those who address their own race only. And you may remember I warned you that you will find me singing to another tune on the ground that one must place, always try to place, his view of a question in the strongest light, if he wants to pursuade.

Your remarks on the getting of the *Banga Darsana*, I have communicated to the manager. He must improve. Poor Dinabandhu* is not responsible for that feeble article on our costume. It was from another celebrity, whom I was obliged to humour.

When do you bring out your first issue? I have got the prospectus. I hope to commence a tale in your Magazine, as soon as I get my contributors to work in earnest. I hope to be in time for your second issue. Pray, try to enlist Raj Krisna Mukerjee M.A.,† of the High Court Bar, one of our most promising young men. Babu Gooroo Churan Dass, Depy. Magistrate may be of use to you, if you ask him. No more space.

Yours very truly,
B. C. CHATTERJEE.

BERHAMPUR,
July 22-72.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

So you are out at last! First of all I congratulate you on your excellent getting up. I have not yet gone through all the articles, but I have skipped over them all, and what I have read leaves no doubt in my mind that the Magazine will be a success. I am specially glad of the eloquent tribute of affection you pay to my lamented friend Girish.‡ Ras Behari's[1] orthography is

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* Rai Dinabandhu Mitra Bahadur, the greatest humourous writer of Bengal. Bankim Chandra became his biographer after his death.

† In July 1873 he entered the service of the Bengal Government as its Bengali Translator.

‡ The first article in the second series of *Mookerjee's Magazine* was headed *A Great Indian but a Geographical Mistake* by the Editor, Dr. Sambhu Chandra Mookerjee. Girish Chandra Ghosh the founder of the *Hindu Patriot* and the *Bengalee* newspapers of Calcutta was one of the best English writers among the Indians. His Life and writings have been recently published by his grandson, Babu Manmathanath Ghosh.

[1] Babu Rash Behari Basu, a Member of the Provincial Executive Service, contributed in the first number of *Mookerjee's Magazine* (second series) an article on the *Antiquities of Jessore-Ishwaripur*. He was then Deputy Magistrate of Jessore.

disgraceful, *e. g.* Jashahar for Jasohar, Protap for Pratap &c. He makes also some ludicrous mistakes and cites the বত্রিশসিংহাসন for the Betal Panchisi. Baidyanath[1] is a very well article. "Infant Marriages"[2] is not worthy of the Rev. K. M. Banerji. The article on Lobb[3] is I believe by Ashutosh Mukarji—is it not? So far as I have read, it seemed very clever. Why is the single epigram from the Sanskrit[4] headed "Epigrams?" The Epigram itself does not seem to me to be in any way Epigrammatic, but then it is written by a live Raja, and the title may, like charity, cover a multitude of sins. Rajendra's article[5] is of course superb. I wish he had given us more of it. And your squib on Tobacco[6] is also capital. I wish you would go on as you have begun.

I suppose you continue to get my Magazine. If so, I don't think it will be necessary to send you another copy in exchange for yours.

I have not forgotten my promise to contribute my little mite to your Magazine. Trusting this will find you all hale and hearty.

I am

Yours sincerely.

BANKIM CH. CHATTERJI.

BERHAMPORE,

Sept. 4-72.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

Kindly excuse the long delay which has taken place in replying to you. At first some thing or other made me put off the reply—and then came a long and serious illness, from which I have just been freed.

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[1] This refers to the serial article entitled *A Visit to Baidyanath* begun in the first number of *Mookerjee's Magazine* (second series) by Babu Bholanath Chandra, the well-known author of the *Travels of a Hindu.*

[2] The correct heading of the article contributed by the Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerjee in the first number of *Mookerjee's Magazine* (second series) is *Infantine Marriages in India.*

[3] This refers to the article on *Mr. Lobb on the Calcutta University by a Graduate of the Calcutta University* who was the late Babu Asutosh Mukherjee, the first Premchand Roychand scholar of the Calcutta University.

[4] In the same number appeared an Epigram on *Woman's Lips* by the late Maharaja Sir Jotendra Mohan Tagore Bahadur with the heading *Epigrams from the Sanskrit.* The plural number indicated that more epigrams by the same "live Raja" would appear gradually in *Mookerjee's Magazine,* and as a matter of fact, more epigrams did appear in the journal.

[5] This refers to the article on *The Homer in India* in the same number of the Magazine contributed by the well-known Dr Rajendralala Mitra. In this article the learned Doctor refutes in his own inimitable way, Weber's theory that Valmiki borrowed his theme of the *Ramayana* from Homer. It is really a masterly contribution.

[6] This refers to Dr. Mookerjee's article *On Tobacco and Smoking.* He was *himself* a veteran tobacco-smoker.

I would have redeemed my promise and contributed my humble mite to your Maga[zine] but for my illness. All brain-work is prohibited to me at present, so much so that I have been obliged to make over my own Maga[zine] to a friend, *pro tem.*

By the way is your second issue out?* I fancy not. If so you are sadly wanting in punctuality. Of course you never promised punctuality, but restricted your engagements to ten issues in the year. But still you are lagging behind.

I assure you I do not deserve—at least have long ceased to deserve—your compliments on my gallantry. I see you have not forgiven my transgressions. I yet hope you will.

The *Observer*[1] is hard upon you. As you are able to hold your own against the *Observer*, I wish you won't waste breath on the subject.

I never read the *Bengal Times*?[2] What did he say?

Trusting this will find you all hale.

I am

Yours sincerely,

BANKIM CH. CHATTERJI.

BERHAMPORE,

Septr. 27-72.

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I have been unable to write to you in acknowledgment of your second number, which is really splendid. I have liked almost all the articles—that on Nuddea[3] specially. "Oviparous Genesis"[4]—evidently by Rajendra—is also first rate. I have had a relapse and am still unable to do my usual amount of work. Will you be in town during the holidays?

Yours sincerely,

BANKIM CH. CHATTERJI,

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* The second number of *Mookerjee's Magazine* appeared in September 1872.

[1] The well-known Anglo-Indian weekly of Calcutta, *The Indian Observer* which was started by Mr. Charles Tawney, Sir Alfred Croft, Sir Henry Cotton, R. H. Wilson, Lt.-Col. R. D. Osborne and others in February 1871.

[2] *The Bengal Times* of Dacca, edited by Mr. E. C. Kemp. On the partition of Bengal it took the name of *Eastern Bengal and Assam Era.*

[3] This refers to the article on *The Antiquity and Importance of Nuddea and the History of its Sanskrit Philosophy*: I. The School of Logic: by Pandit Madhava Chandra Sarma, Deputy Inspector of Schools, and the Editor.

[4] This article was signed MITRANUS who was Dr. Rajendralala Mitra.

BERHAMPUR
28th December [*1872*].

MY DEAR SHAMBHU,

Really you take me by surprise. Were you my debtor? That is a lucky discovery. I thought it was I who had lagged behind in the matter of correspondence. Now that you confess yourself to be in the wrong, I hold myself entitled to read you a lecture. That intellectual treat I reserve for a future occasion.

Ashu of Chooa has been defaming me. In the first place I don't keep good health, though I always did justice to the sweetmeats and other non-eatables manufactured at Chooa. In the second place I have been doing right loyal service to the State by trying to fill its coffers, so that it may rebuild the Jagur barracks and indulge in other magnificent pastimes, to the edification of the tax-paying public. What the devil do niggers want their money for? they had better pay in. their all at the Government Treasuries, and Government will do them an immense deal of good by erecting uninhabitable barracks and by abolishing slavery in Zanzibar. You see my work is genuine philanthrophy. The luxury of [illegible] people for their own good! I am afraid you outsiders don't appreciate it.

Mookerjee is getting on so splendidly that I thought such little assistance as I could render was not needed. But since you wish that even the coarse and scentless *Dhutura* should bloom in your *Nandana* (excuse poetical flights) by the side of the *Mandara* and the *Parijata*, why, you shall be satisfied. Now, let me know what I shall write. Stories? But you seem to have enough of them, and one serial story like Bhubaneswari* is enough for one Maga[zine]: Shall it be a review? I won't take up politics, because then I would be sure to rouse the indignation of Anglo-Saxonian against *Mookerjee*. That is why *Banga Darsan* has so little of politics in it. Shall I send you light sketchy things which shall be neither flesh nor fish nor red herring? Do you want non-sense? I can manufacture that precious commodity *ad libitum*.

One should think from the lengthy apology you tack to your note that you have been falsely accusing me of murder, robbery and rape. You only said wise and good things, and I don't see that needed an apology.

When do you issue your next? By the end of January I suppose? Trusting this will find [you] as jolly as ever.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
BANKIM CH. CHATTERJI.

* This refers to the serial article on *Bhoobonesharee or the Fair Hindu Widow* by Babu Rash Behari Basu which commenced in the October number of *Mookerjee's Magazine* of 1872.

BERHAMPUR,
The 5th January—73.

MY DEAR SHAMBHU,

A happy New Year to you and to your maga[zine].

I am engaged in writing something for you. Indeed it is ready, and it sould have gone before this, but I am obliged to wait a little for one or two books I find it necessary to refer to.

If you are issuing your next in the middle of January, why, I must wait for your next issue.

Pray don't insert that bit of confession[1] anywhere. Campbell and Bernard[2] know enough of me to be able to identify this penitent at once. Not that they would hang me if they did, but it would not be all agreeable.

My story (the one intended for Mukerji) shall wait till Bhubaneswari chooses to leave the coast clear, though I certainly don't *wish* for such a consummation.

Trusting this will find you all serene.

I am,
your sincerely,
BANKIM CH. CHATTERJI.

BERHAMPUR,
The 19th Jany. [*1873.*]

MY DEAR SHAMBHU,

There are three good libraries in Berhampur, and I have got the books I wanted, but have been unable to make the use of them I intended from [want] of time. I have been busy writing the *Banga Darsan* for Fálgun. I have therefore been unable to finish my paper intended for Mookerjee. It does not matter, however: for if I waited to finish it, it might grow too bulky for your maga[zine]: I therefore send you the paper[3] as it is, rather incomplete, but still in a readable shape. I hope you will accept it. If you do, I will try to send you another instalment and complete my plan.

I have been obliged to send you the rough draft as a matter of course—rather tough work for the printer, as I write the worst hand in the world. I am afraid I must ask you to send me a proof, if you admit the article.

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[1] The refers to the article on *The Confessions of A Young Bengal* by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee published in the December number of *Mookerjee's Magazine* of 1872. The publication, it seems, took place, notwithstanding the author's unwillingness to see his article in print.

[2] Sir George Campbell, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and his Secretary, Mr. (afterwards Knighted) Charles Bernard.

[3] This refers to Bankim Chandra's article on *The Study of Hindu Philosophy* by B. C. C. published in the May number of *Mookerjee's Magazine* of 1873.

Nor have I been able to revise the paper carefully—so if you can make time, may carefully look over the grammar, about which I don't pretend to be overcareful. Some small critics, white of course, have been carping at the grammar of your maga[ziné.]

I have to thank you for a copy of your pamphlet, so kindly sent to me. Of course the "The Prince in India"[1] is not new to me, though I never had an opportunity of reading it through. I am doing so now.

When do you bring out your next No. ?

Trusting this will find you all serene.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
BANKIM CH. CHATTERJEE.

BERHAMPUR,
February 6-72, [*1873*].

MY DEAR SHAMBHU,

I am sorry I have disappointed you. But it is so much easier to write a serious essay than things which go under the name of *light* literature, that the temptation was strong upon a hard worked poor devil like me. If you dislike the paper I sent you, you can consign it to your rubbish basket. I will take the earliest opportunity of sending you something more to your liking, but that earliest opportunity may not altogether be an early one.

Every European with Lord-Northbrook's candour and wide sympathies will say what he said about *Mookerjee*. The critics I spoke of are of that class who are impatient of anything Bengali which is good; and their criticism does not go beyond the debateable points of grammar, as you can see in the English weeklies. You can afford to despise these critics, but then that is no reason why I, who am conscious of my weakness, should not take care.

I never had more things on my hand than I have just now. Trusting this will find you more free to enjoy life than your humble collaborateur.

I am,
yours sincerely,
BANKIM CH. CHATTERJI.

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[1] *The Prince in India and to India by an Indian: A Memorial of H. R. H. The Duke of Edinburgh's Visit to India, etc., by Sambhu Chandra Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1871.*

BERHAMPUR,
The 16th March [*1873*]

MY DEAR SAMBHU,

I have received only the latter half of the proof,[1] and this I received only yesterday evening. The other half I have not yet received. The post is very regular with me, so pray don't abuse it. I will send you the proof back as soon as I receive the whole. I see the printer has made glorious work out of my delicate caligraphy. It is lost labour to ask me to write legibly. You may as well preach to the winds.

More hereafter. I am rather fidgetting just now.

Yours sincerely
BANKIM CH. CHATTERJI.

BANGA DARSAN,
Editors Office, Berhampur,
The [*Not dated.*] *187.*[2]

MY DEAR MIRZA SHAMBHU CHANDRA,

The story about my illness was a pure fiction. The gentlemen who gave it out in the papers managed also to send news of my death to my house at Kantalpara.[3] The announcement in the *Haleeshahar Patrika*[4] of my illness was intended merely to create belief in the report of my death sent to my relatives, this being supposed an excellent way of punishing a man for his literary opinion.[5]

I wish there were the same amount of truth in the news of *your* illness —which you yourself give. But as you have got nil of it, we will not discuss the question further.

"Shawkari Jawlpawn"[6] (am I right in the orthography?) is a capital fellow, and I wish I could "emetet" not only his orthography, but also his great good sense and his exquisite English. And I am grateful to the naughty fellow for making room for poor "Bankim" in the same para with

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[1] This refers to the proof of Bankim Chandra's article on *the Study of Hindu Philosophy* referred to already.

[2] This letter was most probably written in June 1873.

[3] Near Naihati Station, Eastern Bengal State Railway, where Bankim Chandra was born and where his ancestral house is situated.

[4] *The Halishahar Patrika* was started in Calcutta in 1870 as a monthly by a resident of Halisahar, a village in the Twenty-four Parganas. In 1873 it became weekly.

[5] In the *Banga Darshana* Bankim Chandra used to review critically, and often severely, the current literature of Bengal. By this he offended some people.

[6] This refers to the correspondence headed *What he should not be* by *Shaukare Jaulpwan* published in the June number of *Mookerjee's Magazine* of 1873.

yourself and that deaf "Sabhaung." May the shadow of that orthographical prodigy never grow less!

I ought to have told you that your last double number[1] was the best you have issued—the best—so far as I know which the "head-eater"[2] of any magazine—has succeeded issuing in India—almost all the articles were very good,—the Bride of Shambhu Das[3] exquisite. The article on Commerce[4] I read with avidity—is Bhola Nath Chunder the writer? The design of the Avatar[5] was well conceived—but it is easily seen that your engraver is not first-rate.

Mr. De's[6] review of বিষবৃক্ষ is rather of the faint praise and civil sneer type. The reviewer is evidently the editor himself, who grossly contradicts some statements he made in an article he contributed to the *Calcutta Review* a few years ago. R. C. Dutt[7] writes to me that he intends reviewing the book in the *Patriot*. Will your head-Eatership condescend to eat my head in Mookerjee? An exquisite critic in the *Som Prakash*[8]—Pot Belly himself for aught I know—pronounces the book unreadable, and the author an unmitigated dunce. This is high praise. Praise from such a quarter would have damned the book.

That promised second part of Hindu Philosophy is a Frankenstien which would kill me. To make it worthy of your maga[zine] I must go through a fearful amount of tough reading, which to an indifferent Sanskrit scholar and hard-worked man like myself would be dreadful. Besides I have exhausted what I had to say about the *Sankhya* in an article in the *Calcutta Review* and a series of articles in the *Banga Darshan*—and the *Sankhya* is the only system which I have made anything like a study. What I intend to give you—if you will take it—is a sketch of Sankaracharya's influence on Hindu thought

[1] That is Number IX & X published together as a double number in June 1873.

[2] *Head-eater* is a pun for Editor.

[3] This refers to the poem on *The Bride of Shambhudos, A late of Pingal* begun by Ram Sharma (Babu Nabagopal Ghosh who is still living at Baranagar) in the June number of *Mookerjee's Magazine* of 1873.

[4] This refers to the serial article on *A Voice for the Commerce and Manufactures of India* by Babu Bhola Nath Chandra, the well-known author of *The Travels of a Hindu*, begun in the same number of the journal.

[5] This refers to the frontispiece illustration called *A Modern Avatar* published in the same issue of the Journal. This was a caricature of an incident of Sir George Campbell's Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal. The modern *Avatar* (incarnation of God) was, of course, Sir George himself.

[6] The refers to the review of *Bisha Briksha* published by the Reverend Lal Behari De in his monthly journal called *the Bengal Magazine*.

[7] Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt of the Indian Civil Service, the well-known author.

[8] The well-known Bengalee weekly, *Som Prakash*, edited by Pundit Dwarkanath Vidyabhushan.

as an illustration. Even for this, you must give me time. In the meantime, if a sketch or a squib be not unacceptable to you, I will send you some after the holidays. I don't suppose I will show my sweet face to your longing eyes during the holidays, for I have got another lover here to attend to—the glorious Road Cess. I am too fond of him to leave him even for a fortnight, especially in this his lingering old age. But this is spinning a fearfully long yarn—and I must close.

Yours very sincerely,
BANKIM CH. CHATTERJI.

BERHAMPUR,
The 27th Novr. [*1873*]

MY DEAR SHAMBHU,

I just drop a line to give my thanks to the Amateur Homeopath*—who I know is no other than the "Head-Eater" himself. By the bye—why don't we see more of that "Gret geneus" the Shaukari Jawlpawn."

I cannot congratulate you on your frontispiece† this time. I am no admirer of Sir George Campbell, but I think it was due to yourself that you should not descend to "Georgy Baba" and "George Pir," though I don't object to "Georgy Natu." It is folly in me—your junior both in years and in reputation,—to attempt to dictate to you in matters of taste, but it seems to my humble judgment that caricatures like "Georgy Baba," etc., though good for my friend of *Amrita Bazar* [*Patrika*], suit ill the taste and breeding of our best literary magazine. But a truce to preaching.

I am growing very fond of the *Kerani*.‡ His sketches are exquisite.

Trusting this will find you in the full swing of enjoyment in this enjoying season. I am

Yours sincerely
BANKIM CH. CHATTERJI.

Dr. Sambhu Chandra Mookerjee desired to write the biography of his great literary precepter, Harish Chandra Mookerjee, the immortal editor of

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* In Number XIII (October 1873) of *Mookerjee's Magazine*, a correspondent—AN AMATEUR HOMEOPATH who is no other than Dr. Mookerjee—reviewed Bankim Chandra's novel, *Bisha Briksha*. It was a satire on those critics of Bankim Chandra's who did not like his writings.

† Published in the October number of *Mookerjee's Magazine* of 1873 and called *A Phantasmagoria*.

‡ This refers to the serial article called *Reminiscences of a Kerani's Life* by Rai Bahadur Sashi Chandra Dutt. It created sensation in the official world and almost deprived its author of his pension.

the *Hindu Patriot* and collected ample material for this work. But he never succeeded in finishing this biography. In a note-book of 1862 he commenced the work and the fragment I publish below :—

"The traveller in the East India Railway after passing Pundooah must have one time or other been roused from his reveries by the train suddenly stopping and a fellow crying "Mamaree," "Mamaree." Within six miles of the Railway station of Mamaree, in the District of Burdwan, lies the well-known and respectable village of Sreedhurpore. In that village lived a Koolin Brahmin, Luckeenarain Mookerjee, honored by the genealogists and the people, *par excellence* on account of his birth, with the proud appellation of "Luckheenarayan Seela" or Luckheenarayan the god. A *Koolin* Brahmin is tempted to unfold the details of Koolinism, but out of respect for the taste of his readers he will forbear and content himself with simply stating that there are four principal sections of the *Rauree Koolins* of Bengal, that the section called *Phoolay* is popularly deemed the chief of these four, that Luckheenarayan belonged to *Phoolay*, and that he was descended from one of the great chiefs of *Phoolay*. The Koolins, besides, are divided in two classes which I would designate the real and the nominal ones. As long as Koolins marry in the prescribed families they preserve their rank, but when a Koolin descends to any of the outsider-families, he ceases to be a Koolin real and becomes a Koolin nominal, *i.e.* he will be degraded and excommunicated from his class, and treated with contempt by it, and his right to intermarry with it will be no more. He will be sure beheld in very great respect by the outside-families, the non-Koolins, who will deem themselves honoured by [being] connected with him by marriage, for it is these latter who, by offers of lands, money, presents and pension, tempt, and often successfully, the Koolins real to sacrifice their rank and exalt their tempters by marrying in their families. But his children will receive less honor than himself, and their children still less and so on, till after the fourth generation, all taint of Koolinism will disappear from the escutcheon of the family, and it will be mingled, undistinguished with the mass of the unillustrious Brahmins.

"Luckheenarayan, the reader might have presumed, was a Koolin real. He had eleven sons, namely, Beersingha, Shodashib, Bholanath, Kasinath, Ramkanto, Bissonath, Kaliprosaud, Dabeeprosaud and three others whose names are not mentioned, having died early.

"Debeeprosaud had a son named Ramdhone. Ramdhone forfeited his position and became a Koolin nominal by marrying in the outside (*Bunsaja*) family of..... For what reason he has voluntarily degraded himself is not known. The cause which ordinarily induces Koolins to do so is the prospect

of good living acting upon extreme poverty which is almost invariably the Koolins' lot. A Koolin real gets little or nothing by his marriage. Generally a boy and a girl of a family are exchanged with a boy and a girl of another. A Koolin real therefore scarcely ever marries more than two wives. But a Koolin nominal's marriage is a speculation, and never a vain speculation, and consequently the number of his marriages is restricted merely by his capacity. It is a popular notion that Koolinism is the cause of poligamy in this country. The notion, like all popular notions, is too sweeping and does injustice to the real Koolins. It is only the Koolins nominal who courted and importuned and bribed by the *Bunsajas*, the non-Koolins to marry their daughters, and unfettered by any obligation to keep, marry many wives. It is not uncommon for Koolins nominal to marry so many as a dozen or two dozen wives.

"It is therefore somewhat surprizing and not a little creditable to his temperance, that Ramdhone married only four wives first at Ooterparah, next at a place near his native village, then ditto, and lastly at Bhowanipore in the southern suburbs of Calcutta, made subsequently immortal by his son. By his first he had one daughter and four sons, Anando Chandra, Rajchunder, Rajkishore, Koylaschunder. They were all writers in the Military Auditor General's Office at Calcutta. Anando Chandra, who died at 44 or 45 years of age, had a salary of Rs. 80 per mensem and had considerable influence in the Office in so much that he introduced in it a large number of friends, relatives and dependents. After office he went to the Fort where he worked from 4 to 5 P.M. on a monthly salary of Rs. 80. On Saturday evening he went to Chinsurah and worked every Sunday at the Depot there for Rs. 80 per month. Rajchunder received Rs. 60 and died at about the same age as his elder brother. Rajkishore, who is the only one of the brothers who is living,* is an Auditor on Rs. 200, and was assistant to the subject of this Memoir. Koylas Chunder, who died so early as 26, was remarkably handsome and received Rs. 25 per month.

"By his second wife Ramdhone had two sons, Sreeram and Mooktaram, both writers in the family office, the one on Rs. 60 pay and the other [on] Rs. 100. When he was 36 years of age, he married in the family of the well-known Mukerjees [Chatterjees] of Bhowanipore and was ever afterwards attached to his new wife who, be it said to her husband's credit, was, both in regard to mind and to body, a most worthy woman. She was the grand daughter by daughter's side of..... .....Mookerjee. The Mookerjees [Chatterjees] of Bhowanipore are

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* Dr. Sambhu Chandra Mookerjee began this sketch in 1862.

obviously from the joint influence of good birth and good means, one of the most respectable families in and around Calcutta, and were formerly enviably resourced. Ramdhone's wife after a hoary-headed custom in this country lived with the Mookerjees [Chatterjees]. The custom to which I allude is the congregation and sticking of kinsmen real or supposed, of all degrees round the man who is—I cannot say rich or even tolerably well circumstanced—but audacious enough to eat his own bread, whether it be gained by the sweat of his own brow or be the result of the sweat of his ancestors. To an European it would be inconceivable how daughters and granddaughters and granddaughters' husbands and granddaughters' children and what not besides, lived together a bazar of human beings and preyed so ably and entirely on the resources of a single man. He might learn however that we Bengallees seem to have made a vow never to work if we can any way help, and consequently we think it nothing wrong to make any one disposed to work for and support us. Consequently Bengallee families are simply large masses of men, united by a slight and often times of little bond of relationship and a strong bond of the fellow feeling of idlers, incubating filth and miasma and nausea and pestilence, creating noise, if not dissensions, deteriorating morals, confirming the idle in his idleness and making the industrious despondent-men who will refuse to be warned by the dwindling resources of their chief or by the crumbling house whereof they are almost literally pigeons, but cling on to the end, till starvation separates them—but, alas! fails to rouse them to work—they, as if with the unerring instinct of brutes seek another chief!

The first fruit of Ramdhone's marriage at Bhowanipore was Haran of whom I shall have occasion to speak at large—the second and last the subject of this memoir.

CHAPTER II.

BIRTH AND EDUCATION.

Goldsmith has truly observed in his Life of Prior that the Life of a literary man seldom presents incidents of interest. But if the life of a literary man of Europe is so barren, how much more so must be the life of a Bengallee. I have often deplored the want of Biography in Bengal, but have been consoled by the reflection that the very want of incidents in our life makes biography impossible. The question put by the indignant mariner in the fable, how did your father die? is for obvious reason, never put by one Bengallee to another. Every Bengallee lives and dies exactly like the rest of his country[men]. No spirit of adventure or of philanthropy or of commerce

or of curiosity ever tempts anyone to end any one's existence in a sandy desert or an uninhabited isle or at the hands of ferocious savages. The Bengallee rarely leaves his ancestral shed, still rarer the village of his birth. Nay it requires a vast exertion on his part to desert the falling house of his ancestors. It is easy to imagine therefore how uninteresting must prove the narrative of the life of one Bengallee to another. No doubt the life of any Bengallee, without distinction, written with fidelity cannot fail to be interesting to a European for the simple reason of its being a novelty to him as the picture of a state of society and of existence unconceived by him. But to a Bengallee who is himself running the course finished by the subject of the book before him it must necessarily be dull. The life of the Bengallee literary man whom I propose to recall to the reader is no exception. It improves in want of incidents on the life of the literary Englishman in the same proportion as the life of an ordinary Bengallee is uninteresting compared to that of an ordinary Englishman. He never travelled. He was poor, and in spite of his high rank as a Brahmin, and of his being one of Nature's patricians, was a plebian. He never came in social contact with the great. He was indeed a politician, but one whose existence was unrecognized in the State. He never influenced any event by his position. He was a clerk, and the life of a clerk is if possible even poorer in incidents than that of a literary man. But because poor in incidents his life need not prove uninteresting. Indeed his life is replete with the highest interest for both Natives and Europeans. But I will not be imprudent enough to vindicate my assertion by facts lest I thereby dispel the reader's curiosity in the following pages.

On the.....November 1825* (Bengallee date 18th Agrahan 1231) Hurris Chunder Mookerjee was born in the old (ancient) house of the Mookerjees [Chatterjees] at Bhowanipore in the Southern Suburbs of Calcutta. As he is recently deceased, the reader probably expects the account of his younger years will, unlike that of ancient heroes, be ample. He is mistaken. As Biography is unknown in Bengal, as especially nobody could foresee Hurris' celebrity in age when he was young, and as, more especially, none of those amidst whom he grew imagined that another Mookerjee will write his life and towards that object pursue them with enquiries, as, lastly, those who are best able to enlighten can never be induced to do so from an idea of which they are possessed, of the irrelevancy of serious enquiries regarding the childhood of any man, far less of Hurris, who in their eyes was only a successful *Keranee*

* In Sanyal's *General Biography of Bengal Celebrities*, the date of Harrish Chandra Mookerjee's birth is given as April 1824.

who was reputed to write English well, the notices of the childhood of Hurris must necessarily be meagre. All I have been able to learn is that from his birth till his fifth or sixth year he was of a very sickly constitution, but that he soon after became perfectly healthy, strong and robust in so much that he afterwards could raise a weight of 2 maunds and in age he was the envy of all who knew him. When his position in the family of the Mookerjees [Chatterjees] is considered it will at once be perceived that he was not born with a silver spoon in his month. But in justice to the noble family it must be confessed he was not born miserable. He was respectably fed and clad. But that, further than this, he was not properly taken care of is the consequence of our domestic system. Where there are so many children it is impossible for each to be singly taken care of particularly well. Hurris naturally formed a compotent part of the mass of urchins seen in the house of every respectable Bengallee who pass their time in swearing, cursing, calling names, crying, mischief-making, and, for want of regular control occasionally being beaten. Of course in the house of every native of wealth there is a necessary member in the *Gooroomohasay* or teacher of children who teaches arithmetic, letter-writing and indifferent morals. Hurris along with the other children was of course placed under the *Gooroomohasay*. What progress he made is not reported, but it may be assumed that the man who afterwards mastered the philosophy of Germany was not long in acquiring all the little lore the *Gooroomohasay* had to impart. One thing is certain. Unlike the run of the English-educated natives, who are deficient in the most rudimentary knowledge of their vernacular, Hurris knew Bengallee, specially the Bengallee of the *Gooroomohasay* and of the Courts. If he neglected his education under the *Gooroomohasay*, he was too much absorbed in after-life with his English studies to have time for Bengallee. [*Here the fragment ends.*]

Dr. Sambhu Chandra Mookerjee projected an annotated edition of *Seir Mutaqherin,* the invaluable history of Bengal written by Nawab Gholam Hossein of the Nizamat Family of Moorshidabad. While *Dewan* of the last Nawab Nazim, Faridoon Jah Bahadur, he collected many interesting hitherto unknown facts and took them down in one of his note-books for his contemplated edition of *Seir*. How and why the capital of Bengal was transferred from Dacca to Moorshidabad during Aurungzebe's reign is not known as yet. The story is thus told in one of the historical notes left by the Doctor :—

"This Prince [Mirza Azim Oshan] held the important government of Bengal and Behar [during the last days of Aurungzebe, his grand-father.]

As such he was second in resources and power to the Emperor himself. Yet the Bengal newspapers did not scruple to expose him. He was not a bad specimen of a Mogul Prince, but he had his foibles, as who has not? and these were seized by the argus eye of the journalists of the day. His Highness certainly harboured views of succession to the throne, like the rest of his family, and it was, I believe, with that object that he set himself to cultivate the people. But in procuring the good will of the Hindu subjects of the Empire, he went to lengths which could not fail to displease the Mussulmans. For he actually celebrated the Hindu Festival of the Spring with the appropriate red powder and red liquid. This was an abomination to the Sunni bigot on the throne, as the ruler of Bengal well knew, and it was Azim Oshan's interest to keep his Hindu proclivities out of his stern grand-father's notice. He was so far successful in this that no formal complaints from the orthodox Mussulman community in these Provinces reached the imperial ears. But that did not prevent the Emperor knowing of his grandson's vagaries. The Press did its duty, without fear or favour. It was through the newspapers that Aurungzebe learnt the truth.

"Another more serious foible of the prince was his avarice. He would make money at any cost. This left him a prey to evil advisers and sycophants who served their own purposes by pandering to the prince's weakness. Under such advice he essayed to add to his functions of the ruler the character of the chief merchant in the country. He began with monopolising all the seaborne imports and vending them to retailers. This was a hardship to the foreigners, chiefly Europeans, as well as to the people of the whole empire, and must have stopped the external commerce of the country. He established agents at all the ports to buy up the foreign cargoes cheap, to be afterwards disposed of by other agents to the best advantage to merchants and traders for circulation throughout the land. The Europeans and Armenians who were the importers were threatened with the loss of their occupation, but they found complaining to the Viceroy useless and they dared not appeal to the Emperor. Luckily, there was in the rudimentary Press an indirect but effectual check even on satraps of the Blood Imperial. Again the journalists did their duty. The historians do not quote the words of the newspapers. I presume they allowed themselves no comments. It was enough to publish the news, and explain the system to which the Viceroy gave the name of *Souda-e-Khash*—commerce in special—as distinguished from *Souda-e-aam*—commerce in general. Historians ever that Aurungzebe learnt of the innovation not from the official reports of his *Sewanahnigars* but from the newspapers. He immediately took steps for its discontinuance.

On this double provocation, His Majesty wrote with his own hand to his grandson, commenting with bitter sarcasm on his vagaries. A yellow turban and saffron-coloured garments ill became a beard of forty-six years' growth, said the grave grandsire. As for Azim Oshan's fiscal reform, it was indeed *Souda-e-khas* but only in the sense of *personal insanity* rather than *particular commerce.*

"Under the Mogul Constitution in India, the revenue administration of the country was kept separate from the functions of maintaining military possession and preserving civil order. The theory was to leave these in different hands, and so they were left in the palmy days of the Empire. If latterly, from time to time, they became centred in the same hands, the offices and occupations themselves were always kept distinct, and there was a persistent tendency to their separation into several officers. One was the Nazim or Subadar, the Lieutenant of the Emperor, the Governor. The other was the Imperial Dewan or the Chief Fiscal or Revenue administrator. Thus, when Azim Oshan was appointed Nazim of these Provinces, the Dewanship was given to an experienced officer of Hindu extraction converted to Islam, by name Jafer Khan, under the title of Moorshed Kuli Khan. The capital of Bengal was then Dacca, where they both resided and worked.

"Under the influences of poor human nature, the two offices were singularly well calculated to come into collision. Nor did the characters of the officers afford the least guarantee of mutual good understanding. The Viceroy was a Prince of the Blood, grandson of the Emperor, presumably a middleaged imperial scapegrace who had not yet sown all his wild oats, surrounded by flatterers, and in whom the latitudinarianism of the House of Timour was barely kept under by fear of his austere grandsire. The Dewan was an abstemious bigot, careful of his pence and pence of the state, who regarded an army for governing Bengal a costly luxury which could well be dispensed with. Moorshed Kuli Khan was always treading on the Prince's corns unawares. He insisted on reduction of establishments in order that he might send an ample tribute from the Province to Delhi. The Prince saw that the dignity and *éclat* of his government was being continually shorn by this beggarly fiscal. His demands for money were frequently refused. Meanwhile, the viceregal court became the resort of disappointed soldiers of fortune, ambitious officers in the army, and dismissed officials in the civil service. Rowdies and desperadoes surrounded him at all times and poisoned his mind, already prepared by his own grievances, against Moorshed Kuli, untill the Dewan's presence as well as office became hateful to him. At last, Azim

Oshan, under the influence of his *entourage,* descended to a conspiracy against the faithful Moorshed's life. One morning as he was proceeding to pay his respects to the Prince at the Poshtah as usual, in his palki attended by a meagre retinue, he was stopped on the way by an ill-meaning crowd on pretence of demanding their pay. His guards showed funk, but the Dewan, who was no poltroon, at once descended from his vehicle and drew his sword. Unprepared for such a prompt exhibition of pluck, the rascals slunk away and dispersed, but not before the Dewan had recognized the leader Abdul Wahed, who commanded a favoured corps. Moorshed Kuli entered his palki and pursued his journey to the Poshtah and, presenting himself direct before Azim Oshan sitting in Durbar, reproached him for his pusillanimity in resorting to such underhand measures for compassing any one's death—in the present case the death of a good servant, and challenged him to single combat there and then as the more honorable way of killing. The Prince was confounded. He, of course, denied his complicity in the attempt, if any had been made. But Moorshed urged that without superior countenance nobody could venture upon such an impertinence as to stop the Imperial Dewan in his passage or to meditate his destruction. The Prince could only feebly insist on his innocence and mutter his wonder and indignation at what had happened. The Dewan did not wait but went straight to the chancellery and summoning Abdul Wahed, gave him an order for the arrears due to his corps, and disbanded it. He now returned to his private residence and thence he wrote to the Emperor fortifying his complaint by a narrative signed and sealed by several public officers. Then in anticipation of sanction, and without the courtesy of a farewell salaam to the Prince, he removed himself and his office, with all the revenue records and establishments, to a fine village or township on the Bhagirathi, not far from its confluence with the Ganges, which, first as the seat of the Dewan and the Dewani, and afterwards as the capital, became famous under the name of Moorshedabad.

"The Viceroy doubtless did not neglect to report to the Emperor, remarking on the unaccountable hallucination under which one day, all of a sudden, the eccentric Dewan, of his own instance, removed the imperial exchequer and all the valuable records of generations of the most important Provinces of the Empire, to no body knows where! All to no purpose, however. Moorshed Kuli Khan's explanation must have been an able one and satisfactory enough. His character for veracity and probity supported it. And if anything was wanted to complete the favourable impression, that was supplied by the Press which was noted for its truth. No doubt the newspapers had before given some hints atleast of the state of things

in Bengal, and the strained relations between the two Chiefs of the state. And now they must have been full of the strange culmination, not only going into the origin and particulars of the famous quarrel but also informing the whole country of the great administrative *coup*, the change of venue of the Dewani and the whole Revenue Department, in detail. The end of it all was not only creditable to the Press and the Dewan, but also honourable to the Empire. Aurungzebe sanctioned the removal, supported his servant, and not only rebuked his grandson threatening with the severest punishment if a hair of his Dewan or an atom of his property were touched, but withdrew him from Dacca, bidding him to fix his residence at Patna. The virtual Government of Bengal was subsequently given to Moorshed Kuli.

"Placed in full charge of Bengal, in both the Nizamat and the Dewani the civil government and the revenue administration—Moorshed applied his whole energies and all the powers of his mind to justify the extraordinary confidence resposed on him by the Emperor, He attained the highest success and reaped its full reward from the justice of Aurungzebe. His chief solicitude was to acquire as large a surplus revenue as possible, which he religiously transmitted to Delhi. He held a great state ceremonial on the day of transmitting the treasure from Bengal once a year. The convoy was marched under a military escort with music playing and banners flying. The despatch was notified in the royal gazettes and newspapers, intimating the route to be followed, so as to warn the Governors and authorities on the way to facilitate the passage of the Bengal Tribute and take measures for its protection."

I have received the following from Mr. C. J. Lumsden, one of the members of the Calcutta Historical Society:—

"Date of Suraj-u-dowlah's birth."—How does the following extract on the above subject strike you? It relates to the death of Suraj-u-dowlah after he had been captured by the brother (*sic*) of Meer Jaffir, upon information supplied by the Fakir Dana Shah.

"A. D. 1757, July:—The following morning his (Suraj-u-dowlah's) mangled remains were placed on an elephant and exposed throughout the City, when they were finally conveyed to the tomb of Aliverdi Khan and there interred. The populace beheld the procession with awe, consternation and the Soldiery, having no longer a choice between two masters, submitted quietly to Meer Jaffir Khan. Thus perished Suraj-u-dowlah in the 20th year of his age, and the 15th month of his reign; a prince whose short career was connected in a most important manner with the British interests in India, both for good and evil." *History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army* by

Capt. Arthur Broome, Bengal Artillery, Vol. I, page 156. This works the year of his birth out to 1737."

But Captain Broome does not give any authority for his statement, and from the way in which he puts the matter, it seems to me that he never seriously enquired into the question of the time of Seraj-ud-dowla's birth, but took off-hand probably what he found written by his predecessors. I am inclined to believe on the authority—and he is the only authority available—of Nawab Gholam Hossein Khan, the author of *Seir Mutaqherin*, who was himself a relative of Nawab Siraj-ud-dowla, that the latter was born about 1730 and must have been about 28 or 29 years old at the time when he was murdered. Hence in 1753 when Nawab Aliverdi Khan placed him on the *Musnud* as his successor, he could not have been a lad of 15 years, but must have been some years older, that is, about 23 or 24 years old. And the fact that he left some children before his murder and was accused of immoral practices by both English and Native historians, denotes a degree of physical development which could hardly be expected if he had been only 20 years old at the time of his assassination. Neither Gholam Hossain or Stewart says that Seraj-ud-dowla was 15 years old when Aliverdi Khan declared him to be his successor in 1753.

Robert Orme makes Seraj-ud-dowla "a youth of seventeen years" in 1753 (*vide* his *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indoostan*, (Madras reprint, Vol. I, p. 47), but he does not give any authority for the same. And it is wellknown that his statements about the Nizamat Family of Moorshidabad are very inaccurate. Macaulay makes Seraj-ud-dowla "a youth under twenty years of age" in 1756. Then who is responsible for making Seraj-ud-dowla a stripling of fifteen in 1753?

ANENT this interesting subject, I have received the following valuable note from Khan Bahadur Dewan Fuzl Rubbee of Moorshidabad:

"With reference to your note in pages 138 to 140 in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. VIII for January to March 1914 regarding Serajuddowlah's date of birth and name, I beg to send you my note and geneological Table on the subject for your information. It may be printed in the next issue of your journal.

"Sirajud-Daulah was first called by the name of Mirza Muhammed. When Ali Wardi Khan became the Subahdar of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, Sirajuddaulah was given the title and name Sirajuddaulah Shah Kuli Khan Bahadur. On Sirajuddaulah's becoming the Subahdar he was the recipient of the title of Mansur-ul-Mulk Sirajud-Daulah Nawab Shah Kuli Khan Bahadur Haibat Jung. Sirajuddaulah's mother was Amina Begam, the youngest daughter of Ali Wardi Khan, and his father was Zainuddin Ahmad

Khan, the younger son of Haji Ahmad, elder (or younger?) brother of Ali Wardi Khan. Zainuddin Ahmad Khan's first name was Mirza Hashem, but at his securing a title, his first name changed with it, and he came to be called Zainuddin Ahmad Khan Haibat Jang. Similarly Ali Wardi Khan was first known by the name of Mirza Muhammad Ali *alias* Mirza Bandi. When he became the Naib Subahdar of Behar his former name changed with his title which thus became Ali Wardi Khan Bahadur. He was conferred the title of Ihtishamul Mulk Husám-uddaulah Nawab Ali Wardi Khan Bahadur Mahabat Jang when he became the Subahdar. Sirajuddaulah's first name was, however, Mirza Muhammad as it is found in the *Siyurul Mutakharin* and other books.

"I do not find the date of Sirajuddaulah's birth in any book, but it is recorded in *Siyurul Mutakharin* that Sirajuddaulah was born a few days before the appointment of Ali Wardi Khan to the Naib Subahdarship of Behar. In the *Tarikhi Subah Behar* it is mentioned that Sirajuddaulah was born the same day that Ali Wardi Khan was appointed to be the Naibi Subahdar of Behar. So it is obvious that Sirajuddaulah was born in the year 1729 A. D.* The genealogical table of the family of Ali Wardi Khan which is with the family, is copied out and given below. This will describe the family of Sirajuddaulah and also the connections that he bore with Ali Wardi Khan and Meer Jaffar."

Like Vyasa and Valmiki, Shakespeare's influence in the modern Bengali literature is quite extensive. The following note on this subject is very interesting :—

" With the introduction of English Education, the works of Shakespeare began to be widely studied and deeply appreciated in this country. The Shakespeare's recitations given by Mr. Hume,† and the Shakespeare readings of Capt. D. L. Richardson tended to increase the enthusiasm of native students for Shakespeare. Shakespeare began to be acted in College Halls by College students under the direction of their European Professors. Baboo Kesub Chunder Sen, the well known Brahmo leader, often played the part of Hamlet at private theatricals at his own Kaloo tola house. Whenever college students used to meet in company, they used to read Shakespeare, each taking the part of one of Shakespeare's Characters. There were many who could repeat their parts by heart. One Kailas Chandra Basu was able to recite long passages from almost any of Shakespeare's plays without the books. The late Babu Prasanna Kumar Sarbadhikari,‡ Principal, Sanskrit College, used to read all the plays once at least during the year. Such appreciation of Shakespeare was not without its influence on the Bengali literature. Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare were translated by Dr. Roer. Dr. Roer, however, did not translate all the tales given by Lamb. Another translation by Muktaram Bidyabagis was complete and published by the Proprietors

* 1143 Hijree.

† Mr. James Hume, Barrister-at-Law, father of Mr Hume, our present Public Prosecutor.

‡ Uncle of the present Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, the Hon'ble Dr. Deva Prasad Sarvadhikari, M.A B.L., LL.D., C.I.E.

of the *Sambad Purna Chandradaya* Press. There was a very large demand for this translation, as one of the oldest book sellers in Calcutta informed me the last few copies were sold for five times its original price. No other translation of Lamb's Tales was published until lately when Babu Jadu Gopal Chatterjee made a careful translation of some of them.

"The earliest complete translation of a play of Shakespeare's was that of the *Merchant of Venice* by the late Babu Hara Chandra Ghose of Chinsurah, a Deputy Collector. The Bengali name of the translation is *Bhanumati Chittabilas*. *Bhanumati* is the second dramatic work written in Bengali, the first being *Bhadra-Arjuna*, a work based on the story of the abduction of *Shubhadra* as given in the Mahabharata. Thus Shakespeare shares with Vyasa the honour of inspiring the earliest dramatic efforts in this country. The *Bhanumati* is now completely out of print, the last copy having been presented by the late author to Sir Monier-Williams, when that distinguished orientalist was on his visit to Hooghly. The next work of Hara Chunder Ghosh was *Charumukha Chittahara*, which was a version of *Romeo and Juliet*. This also is now out of print.

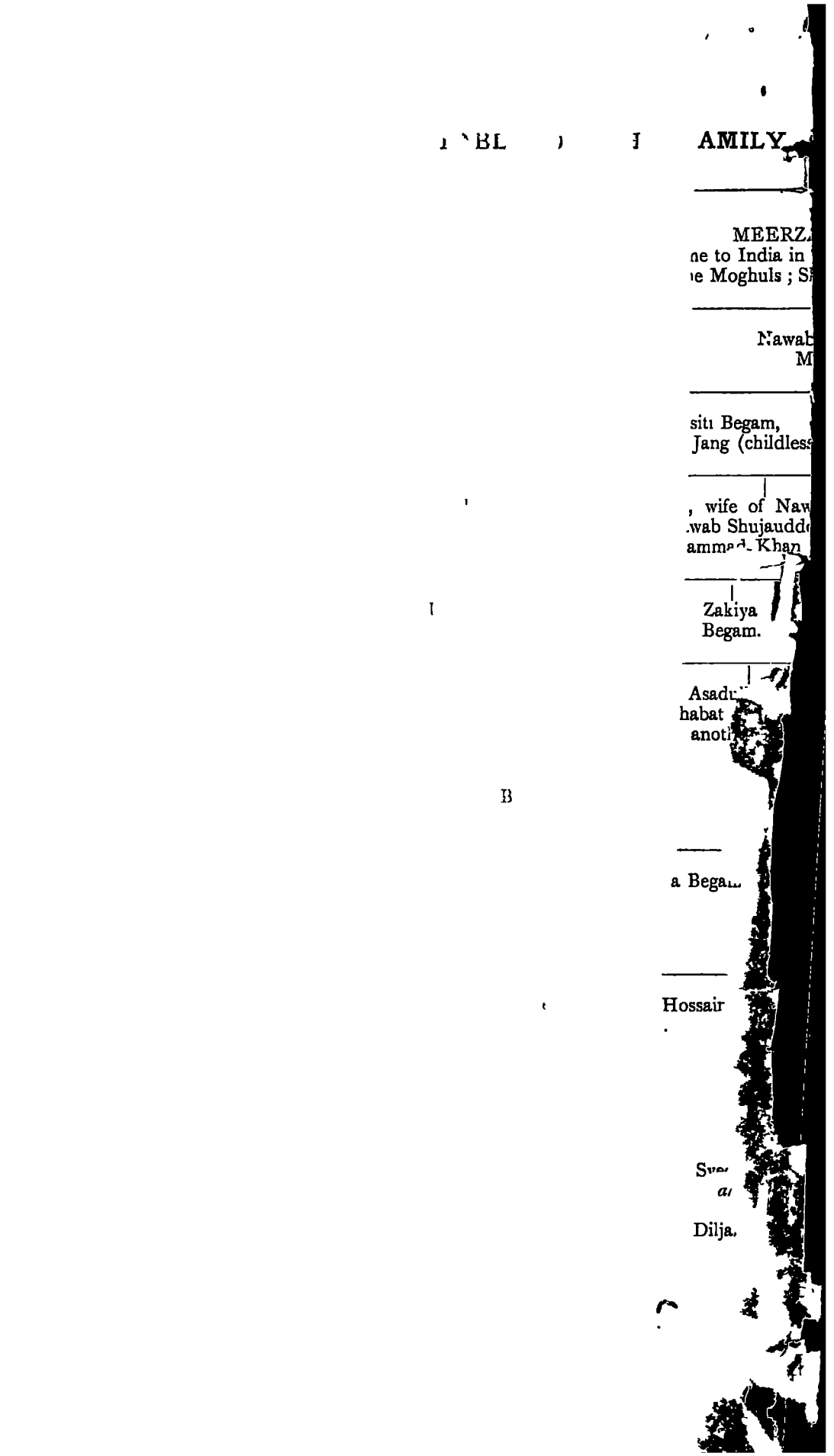
"A list of all the editions and translations of Shakespeare's plays and all publications relating to his works from the year 1867 when the Bengal Library was established and from which year a systematic catalogue of all publications is kept can be easily complied from the catalogues of the Bengal Library. But many of these works are now completely out of print and are not available in the Calcutta market.

"The following Bengalee works were presented by the Government of India in 1889 to the Shakespeare Memorial Library at Stratford-on-Avon, the birth-place of the poet.

1.	Jhatika in three parts	...	A translation of the Tempest.
2.	Karnabir	...	Do Do. Macbeth.
3.	Suralata Natak	...	An adaptation of the Merchant of Venice
4.	Bhranti Bilas	...	A prose translation of the Comedy of Errors.
5.	Prakriti Natak	...	A translation of the Tempest.
6.	Sarat Sashi Natak	...	An adaptation of the Mid-Summer Night's dream.
7.	Amar Sinha	...	A translation of Hamlet.
8.	Rudra Pal Nataka	...	An adaptation of Macbeth
9.	Susila Chandra Ketu	...	An adaptation of the Twelfth Night.
10	Nalini Basanta	...	An adaptation of the Tempest.
11.	Kusum Kumari Natak	...	An adaptation of Cymbeline.
12.	Sushila Bir Singha Natak		Do. Do.
13.	Shakspiyarer Galpa, Pratham Bhag	...	A translation of some of the Tales from Shakespeare by Lamb.
14	Romeo-Juliet	...	A novel on the plan of Romeo and Juliet
15.	Bhishak Duhita	...	A novel based on the story of All's Well That Ends Well."

26 SHAMPUKUR STREET,
28th June 1914.

S. C. SANIAL



AB ALI VARDI KHAN MAHABAT JANG.

MAD,
Aurangzeb and was Superintendent of the Kitchen of Prince Azimushal. : this tribe
ibadar of Bengal, was of the same tribe.

han — Haji Ahmed.

egam, wife of Zainuddin Ahmed Khan Jang and mother of Sirajuddowlah.

Khan ddin — Shahamat Jang (childless) — Saulat Jang. — Zainuddin Ahmed Khan, Haibat Jang, father of Serajuddowlah. — Meerza Muhammad Ishaq (childless). — Meerza Ra[illegible] (childless).

llah h. — Hadi Ali Khan Jesarat Jang. — Meerza Achcha Saidar Jang. — Meerza Moghal. — Shaukat Jang.

ah Kuli Khan Nawab Serajuddowlah by Amina Begam, daughter of Ali Vardi Khan. — Ekramuddowlah Badshah Kuli Khan by Amina Begam. — Meerza Mehdi by Amina Begam (died childless).

Qudsia Begam, wife of Syed Muhammad Khan. — Muraduddowlah. — Rezia Begam, wife of Haji Muhammad Ali.

egam — Sakina Begam, wife of Syed Ali Khan. — Sher Ali Khan. — Fatima Begam. — Alatunnisa Begam, wife of Shamsher Ali Khan.

an. — Mirza Lutf Ali, husband of Hosaini Begam.

of Muhammad Raza Abboo (childless). — Fatima Begam.

f Syed n. — Khairunnisa Begam, wife of Khadum Hossain Khan. — Lutfunnisa Begam, wife of Nadir Mirza (childless). — Hashmatara Begam, wife of Syed Ali Raza — Alfunnisa Begam — Ameer Mirza.

an — Meerzai Begam — Aghai Begam (childless). — Tilatara Begam — Syed Zaki Raza.

d — Syed Jaffar Ali Khan.

Syed Tasudduk Hossain Khan.

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